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Volume XX**

1938-39

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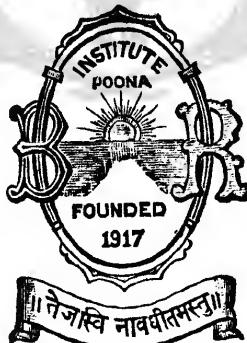
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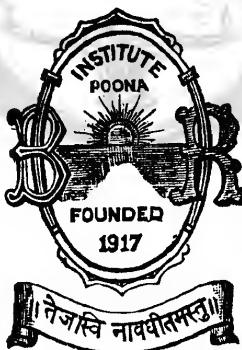
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Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute

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OCTOBER 1938

[PART I

TEN FRAGMENTS OF STONE INSCRIPTIONS AND A CLAY SEAL FROM VALĀ

BY

D. B. DISKALKAR, M. A.

Among the antiquities obtained by excavating, about 25 years back, the ruins of ancient Valabhi, the capital of the well known Maitraka rulers in Kathiawad, there were found ten pieces of stone inscriptions and a clay seal which are published below for the first time. Like the copper plates found from the same ruins at the same time and published by me (J.B.B.R.A.S. N. S. Vol. I Pt. I pp. 13-64), the present objects of antiquarian interest have also escaped attention of scholars for so many years.¹ Of the ten pieces four have been lying in the Watson Museum, Rajkot, four in the State Museum at Valā (which is situated on the site of old Valabhi) and the remaining two are in the possession of the Thakur Saheb of Valā. The inscribed pieces in the Watson Museum were presented by the Thakur Saheb along with many other antiquities at present preserved in the Watson Museum. Nothing is known of the whereabouts of the original seal said to be of baked clay and found in Valā. My note on it is based on an impression of it on lac taken several years ago and preserved in the Watson Museum. Impressions of eight of the pieces of stone inscriptions are preserved in the Watson Museum. I had recently an opportunity of personally examining all these pieces.

These ten pieces are of ten different inscriptions. This is seen not only from the different forms of characters used in them but also from the different sizes of the letters and from the different kinds of stone slabs used for them. For the thickness of the slabs and the quality of the stone are found to be different in every case.

These pieces of inscriptions in their present condition defy all attempts to elicit any interesting information from them. Some

¹ The present paper prepared along with the one on the copperplates had remained unpublished so far.

fragments represent the beginnings and others the ends of the lines of writing. But these inscriptions as they are, are useful in a way to prove to us the existence of a number of stone inscriptions in Kathiawad during the Valabhi period. One is always at a loss to understand why no stone inscriptions¹ other than on copper plates are found of the peaceful and prosperous Valabhi period extending for about 280 years from about 490 to 770 A. C. when quite a large number of copper plates not less than 100 of the period are discovered. Though none of the pieces we are describing gives us the name of a Valabhi ruler there is no doubt that all of them belonged to the Valabhi period and were destroyed along with the city, Valabhi, where they were lying buried until discovered recently. We have thus reason to suppose that inscriptions on stone did exist in the period though not in such a large number as the inscriptions on plates.

The importance of these inscriptions lies, however, more in their being excellent specimens of the characters used in the period in Kathiawad on stone inscriptions. They show us a good many paleographical peculiarities. They are also interesting in so far as they show how the characters used in the copper plate inscriptions and in the stone inscriptions of the Valabhi period were distinctly different.

The characters in the pieces described below are those which are generally called *Kutīla* characters. A fairly exhaustive list of inscriptions engraved in such characters is given by R. B. Gaurishankar Ojha on p. 63 of his Hindi book called 'The Paleography of India'.² The characters in our inscriptions closely resemble those in the Vasantgadh inscription³ of Varmalāta of V. S. 682 and with the Udaipur inscription⁴ of Aparājita of V. S. 718. They are very neatly and beautifully engraved in perfect straight lines, after the surface of the slab was finely polished. Their orthographical peculiarities, which are many and interesting, are mentioned below in the introductory note of each inscrip-

¹ The only exception to this statement is the Bānkodi stone inscription which is attributed to Guhasena of the Maitraka family. See *Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions of Kathiawad* p. 30. It can, however, be doubted if this inscription belongs to the king. Only one more inscription engraved on an earthen jar dated G.S. 247 is found of the period. See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV, p. 75.

² See also Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions* p. 201.

³ Epi. Ind. Vol. IX, p. 190.

⁴ Epi. Ind. Vol. IV, p. 31.

tion. All the records are in Sanskrit poetry used in various metres, which are some times given in the footnotes. Even the portion of the seal is in Sanskrit poetry.

(1)

This piece, broken in an irregular way, measures about 7" by $4\frac{1}{2}$ ". The left hand portion of the stone measuring $1\frac{1}{3}$ inches is blank at the beginning of the inscribed lines. This shows that the fragment represents the beginnings of the lines of writing. The first letter of the first line is illegible. The portion at the beginning of the last three lines is broken and lost. The inscribed portion contains eight lines of writing in beautiful letters whose average height is $\frac{3}{8}$ " and breadth $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The ornamental scroll below the line we have marked eight shows that it is the last line of the record.

As regards, orthography the following points may be noted:— A consonant immediately following and preceding *r* is doubled. Instances of the first kind are शर्वस्य (1. 4) °ते॒द॒न्ति॒भिः (1. 6) and of the second kind त्वय (1. 1) and शात्ववाणं (1. 5). *R* preceding a conjunct consonant is engraved below the line as in र्व (1. 4) and ई (1. 6) and not above the line as is generally the case. The letter *y* at the end of a conjunct consonant is very elaborately drawn and is stretched to the left hand to a considerable distance, even beyond the neighbouring letter. There are two forms of the medial *i*. In one case its stroke, after being turned to the left is stretched downwards in a perpendicular direction as in नि (1. 4). न्ति and भिः (1. 6) and ति (1. 7) while in the other case it is drawn in a horizontal direction as in हि and न्ति (1. 1) and चिछ (1. 6). The medial *a* is also expressed in two ways:— by a stroke to the right hand stretched a little downwards and by a stroke upon the letter stretching to the north-east. The first way is common. The only instance of the other is in the case of पा in पपात (1. 5). The left hand portion of the letter *k* in कु (1. 4) is expressed by a simple stroke and not by a left hand loop as in (1. 6).

Text-	1	-रत्नत्रय.....
	2	यस्य स्तोता मृ.....
	3	तद्वामाहितकान्तिरु.....
	4	खेदितः कृष्णः । शर्वस्य.....
	5	'शरणं शात्ववाणं पपात ॥ (अ) - ~ ~ - ~
	6	(वा)'चिछते॒द॒न्ति॒भिः प्रकटशूङ्क(ला).....

¹ Metro Sragdharā. ² Rathoddhatā.

7.....न्दा(?) भवन्त । मुद्राति.....

8.....(र)पशम्य शू-शू.....

(2)

This piece is broken on all its sides and measures 4" by 3". It contains five lines of writing. The average height of the letters is $\frac{2}{5}$ and the breadth $\frac{3}{10}$ of an inch.

As regards *orthography* in the case of *y* at the end of a conjunct consonant the same remarks as are made in the preceding section are applicable here. Similarly *r* in प (1.4) is stretched too long to the left. The medial *i* is written both ways as in the first piece. The left hand portion of *k* in क (1.3) is like that in (1.4) of the first piece.

Text- 1.....(र?)श्यामल(भ?).....

2.....(ज)गति बभूव गो.....

3.....हितकृतं चामल.....

4.....सरणप्रतिबुद्ध(ध).....

5.....लक्ष(ए).....

(3)

In this piece, measuring $3\frac{1}{2}$ " in height and $3\frac{1}{4}$ " in breadth, there are four lines of writing. The fifth line is entirely obliterated, only the sign of the medial *i* is visible on the stone. The size of the letters is almost the same as of the letters in the preceding piece.

As regards *orthography* it is to be noted that both the ways are seen here, as in the first piece, of expressing the medial *i*. So also two forms of *i*, of a nature just opposite of that in *i* are to be seen in पि (1.1) and दि (1.3). The consonant immediately following *r* is doubled. (ll., and 3). *R* immediately preceding a consonant is engraved both above and below the line, the former in रि (1.1) and the latter in र्वि (1.3).

Text- 1.....(प)णयिभिर्णीपीतेन्दु.....

2.....नवनवतां दधदाहता.....

3.....(उ)षसि हच्चरदीपिहिंग्ल(ता).....

4.....प्रकटाफलमन्त्रे(?).....

(4)

This is a small piece measuring $2\frac{1}{2}$ " by $2\frac{1}{2}$ " and containing only three lines of writing. The letters have become rather indistinct, their average size is $\frac{1}{5}$ " by $\frac{1}{5}$ ".

The only point of *orthographic* interest that requires to be noted is the sign for the medial *e*. In ने (1.3) the stroke meant for that vowel is first raised in a perpendicular direction just above the letter; then getting a curve it is turned down a little and afterwards stretched long in the north east direction. This form is to be distinguished from another form of the same vowel used in the first and the third pieces.

Text— 1.....धिगता(म्).....
 2.....मनसां सद्भैः स ग.....
 3.....(सं ?)पादिनेन्यस्ता.....

(5)

This piece broken irregularly measures about $4\frac{1}{4}$ " in height and 4" in breadth. It contains six lines of writing. The letters though beautifully engraved in perfect straight lines are not all of a uniform size. The size of a letter is generally $\frac{1}{3}$ by $\frac{1}{3}$ of an inch. The ends of the letters are more pointed in this and in the following inscription than in any of the other inscriptions.

As regards *orthography*, a point of great importance is that three forms of the letter *y* are to be seen here: one having a loop to the left separated from the stem of the letter, the other not separated in that way, and the third containing no loop at all, but a mere perpendicular stroke as found in very old forms of the letter. The first form is used in ll. 1, 3 and 5, the second only in l. 1 and third only in l. 4. The two forms of the medial vowel *a*, described in the first note are to be found in this inscription also; one of a stroke in front of the letter is very common and the other having a stroke above the line, stretched in the north-eastern direction, as in वा (1.2). Similarly two forms of the vowel *i* are seen. But in the case of the form which used to be expressed by a horizontal stroke it is here found to be stretched a little upwards, e. g. in ति (1.1), सि (1.2), इ (1.3) दि (1.3) and र्षि (1.4). The initial *u* used in line 3 deserves to be noted. Two forms of the medial *e* are used: one is made by a stroke above the letter like a *mātrā* (as is used in the preceding inscription), and the other by a horizontal stroke turned to the left of the letter. The former form is used in (ll. 3, 4 and 5, and the latter in ये (1.1), ऐ (1.2) and न्हे (1.4). Two forms of the letter *th* are observable: One used in ll. 1 and 2 and the other in l. 4 (in घि). This latter form looking like modern त is also

used in l. 4 of the following inscription (in स्थ) : while the former form is seen used also in inscriptions Nos. 7 and 8.

The word तथागत, meaning the Buddha, coming in the 1st line of this inscription shows that it is a Buddhist inscription.

Text— 1.....त्यक्तः ॥ 'तथागतस्स जयति येन दु.....
 2.....विदशपथजुषामेनसां शासितारः शा-[इ].....
 3.....स्थायिनः ॥ 'उद्भृत्ताशेषदोषद्विषदुरुप.....
 4.....यनः 'सन्द्रैररथ्यमृतार्थिभिः सुर.....
 5.....[-थइ]दामपि तमोरागेण ४ य[स्थ]—इ.....
 6.....व महा[राज ?]— ५

(6)

This is the largest piece of the whole collection. It is broken on all the three sides except the right hand one. The inscribed portion consisting of seven lines measures 6" by 6½". The average size of a letter is slightly larger than $\frac{1}{5}$ by $\frac{1}{5}$ of an inch.

The following *orthographical* points may be noted :— A consonant following *r* is doubled as in द्द (l. 1), म्म (l. 4) and र्द्द (?) (l. 6). Similarly a conjunct consonant having *r* as its second member is doubled as in क्क (l. 2) and च्चि (l. 3). The *repha* is engraved below the line twice in ll. 1 and 4 and above the line once in l. 7. The medial *ā* is expressed by the right hand stroke only. Both forms of the vowel *i* and *e*, as shown elsewhere are found used here. In the form *i* used above the line two ways are observable ; in one, the stroke is stretched to the left and in the other it is turned back again in a parallel line to touch the letter as in एि (l. 2) इि (l. 5), च्छि (l. 6). The initial *u* is used in उद्देगाय (l. 3). The guttural nasal instead of *anusvāra* is used in the word निस्त्रिलाशनिः (l. 4) च्छु is wrongly engraved for श्व in विषच्छुत् (l. 6). The letter *d* in the conjunct consonant च्छि (l. 5) shows a curious form. Similarly the vowel *o* in the letters श्चो and तो (l. 5) expressed by strokes to the right and left of the letter requires to be specially marked. One of the two strokes meant for *u* in the letter म् (l. 7), instead of being marked on the right side is marked to the left. The letter *y* at the end of a conjunct consonant is, as described above in the first note stretched too long to the left. It, moreover, shows two forms, in one it is rounded and in the other it is pointed. The stroke for *r* as the second member of a conjunct consonant is stretched still further

¹ Metre Anustubh. ^{2, 3} Metre Sragdharā ^{4, 5} Metre Śārdulvikridita

to the left. Instead of running straight to the left it is in two cases (मा 1. 2 and क 1. 5) raised upwards a little; in these instances it is not very long. Two forms of the letter *k* are seen here as in the first piece: one having a loop in its left hand portion and the other without the loop. The latter form which is very old, is generally used in this inscription. Both forms are seen in the word कटक (1. 1).

Text - 1.....[उ]^१धगिरिकटकस्पद्विवक्षोध्यतिष्ठ [त ॥] --
 2.....प्यश्चित्तवगता^२ रतोत्सवमिव क्रोधेन सम्प्राप्तिः ॥ समर
 3.....उद्देगाय^३ पततिणामपि दधत्पारुष्यमन्त्युलवर्णं यस्यारा
 4.....कर्मभिः । ५निस्त्रिङ्गाशनिभिन्नवारणघटाकुम्भस्थलश्चयो
 5.....स्य विष्णोरिव ॥ ^४क्रमखण्डतोन्मादेष्टुद्विषदि
 6.....(र-इ) तिर्गणस्य सम्यक्^५ । फलं ^६विषच्छत्त्वं
 7.....फणीन्द्रमूर्द्धां (?)

(7)

This piece measures about $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 3 inches. It contains five lines of writing. The average size of the letters is $\frac{1}{4}$ " by $\frac{3}{8}$ "

About its *orthography* nothing special is to be noted.

Text - 1.....य् प्राज्यावि(धि ?).....
 2.....प्रदानप्रथितमृ.....
 3.....ननात्पद *परार्थतु.....
 4.....परमुत्साहं दक्ष(थ ?).....
 5.....धनानि.....

(8)

This is the smallest piece of the whole lot containing but a few letters of two lines. It measures about $2\frac{1}{2}$ " by $2\frac{1}{2}$ ". The letters are slightly larger than those in the preceding piece.

About the *orthography* one important point deserves to be noted. In copper plates, we frequently find the use of the signs for *jihvāmūliya* and *upadhīmāniya*, but very rarely in stone inscriptions. In the present piece, however, the sign for *upadhīmāniya* is used before प in the first line instead of the *visarga*.

Text - 1.....वाद... प^७.....
 2.....न कथं चि.....

^१ Metre Sragdhara. ^{२, ३, ४} Metre Sārdūlavikriḍita. ^५ Metre Aryā.

⁶ Metre Upajāti. ^६ Read विषशि.

* The *anusvāra* which properly ought to be upon ए is wrongly placed on उ.

(9)

This piece measures $4\frac{1}{2}$ " by 3" and contains six lines of writing. It is broken on all its sides.

The orthography does not call for any special remarks.

Text - 1.....(प्र)तापः प्रा(ह).....
 2.....क वसतेर्नीतः क.....
 3.....काच्चाहृतेरन्यरुचत.....
 4.....॥ कालेयां नृपपद्(धत्)इ.....
 5.....रदत्तं(?) । येन स्व(य).....
 6.....वाक्यं पौ.....

(10)

This piece measures $7\frac{1}{2}$ " by $3\frac{1}{2}$ " and contains three lines of writing. It is broken on its upper and left hand sides; the lower and right hand sides have much blank space after the inscribed portion is finished. The inscription ends with the third line in this piece as it ends with the word इति, which is moreover followed by ornamentation figures and the blank space after them. The letters are much effaced.

Nothing is to be noted with regard to the orthography except the initial letter *i* (1. 3), the lower point of which has given place to a sign which resembles exactly the modern sign of interrogation.

Text - 1.....स्तासमुरभि(?) मुदित(श्रे).....
 2.....प्रथित-णा समुद (?) तस.....
 3.....यप्र(ता)* ॥ इति ॥

The Seal

This is only a fragment of a baked clay seal, which must have been of an unusually large size. The piece with us broken irregularly measures 4 by $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, crossways. The average size of the letters, which are of a rounded form, measure about $\frac{1}{5}$ by $\frac{1}{5}$ of an inch. The letters are very beatifully engraved, and are similar to the letters engraved on the stone pieces described above. Nothing can be made out from the letters though there are five lines of writing visible.

Text - 1.....रिभिर्वीक्षिताः.....
 2.....[शेष नागय] हरिणव.....
 3.....स्मिक्षिष्ठतिवारुणः प्रणयिनो ना.....
 4.....पलं लोककृतोय-[सर्वं].....
 5.....[दितेमानि].....

* Read प्रतो ?

VĀÑCHEŚVARA ALIAS KUTTI KAVI AND HIS CONTACT
WITH THE PATVARDHAN SARDARS OF THE
SOUTHERN MARATHA COUNTRY

BY
P. K. GODE, M. A.

Aufrecht¹ refers to Vāñcheśvara, the great commentator of the *Bhāttacintāmaṇi*² as follows:—

“ वाञ्छेश्वर होशनि कर्णाटक of शहजीन्द्रपुर (Tanjore) Son of Narasimha, grandson of Vāñchānātha (*Mahiṣaśataka*)³ wrote about 1800: *Hiranyakesīśūtravyākhyā*⁴ ”

Aufrecht records three MSS. of the *Hiranyakesīśūtravyākhyā* but no Ms. of the *Bhāttacintāmaṇi* or other works of our author. In the introductory verses of this work Vāñcheśvara states that he composed the following works:—(1) माहिषशतकव्याख्या, (2) हिरण्यकेशिसूत्रव्याख्या, (3) दत्तचिन्तामाणि, (4) आद्वचिन्तामाणि, (5) ब्रह्मसूत्रार्थचिन्तामाणि, (6) काकतालीयवादार्थ.

The writer of the Introduction to the *Bhāttacintāmaṇi* states that Vāñcheśvara composed the following works:—(1) हिरण्यकोशिसामान्यसूत्रव्याख्या; (2) धर्मान्तरान्दिका; (3) श्लोषार्थचन्द्रिका; (4) तर्कसंग्रहव्याख्या.

¹ *Cata. Catalogorum*, I, 561.

² Edited by M. M. Venkatasubrahmanyam Shastri, Law Journal Press, Madras, 1934. Vide my critical review of this edition in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, Vol. XVII, 1936, pp. 400–405, where I have recorded an alphabetical list of works and authors mentioned in the *Bhāttacintāmaṇi*. This edition is based on a single Ms. of the commentary in the possession of Mahāmahopādhyāya Venkata Subrahmanyam Shastri of Madras (died 1928), who was the son of the daughter of Vāñcheśvara, the author of the *Bhāttacintāmaṇi*.

³ Vide B. O. R. Institute Ms No. 148a of 1866–68—माहिषशतकम्.

⁴ *Cat. Catalo.*, I, 766—“ सत्यापादहिरण्यकेशिन्-शौतसूत्र comm. by Vāñcheśvara “composed about 1800” —Khn 10, Burnell 21^a, Bühl 553.—Burnell describes the Ms. of this commentary as follows:—“ *Hiranyakesīśūtravyākhyā* by Hośanikarṇātaka—Vāñcheśvara of Sahajindrapura (or Tanjore) written about 1800 A. D. The author belonged to a Canarese (? Mysore) family settled in South India ... “This seems a very excellent commentary, considering the state of learning at the time it was composed.”

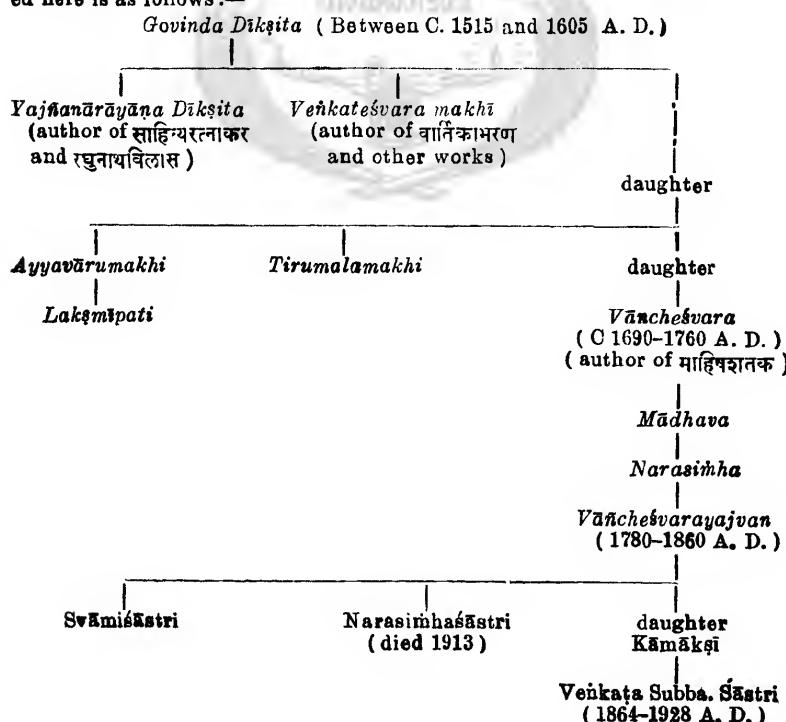
⁵ [Annals, B. O. R. I.]

These titles of works ascribed to our author show him to be a voluminous writer. *Kuṭṭī Śāstri* or *Kuṭṭī Kavi*¹ was the popular name of *Vāñcheśvara*. He travelled far and wide from Benares to Rāmēśvaram. Several pass-ports² were issued to him by M. Elphinstone and other officers between A. D. 1816 and 1824. *Kuṭṭī Kavi* was descended³ from Govinda Dikṣita, the well-known minister of Acyutadevarāya of Vijayanagar (1529-1542). According to the Genealogy recorded in the edition of the *Bhāttacintāmaṇi* *Kuṭṭī Kavi* (= *Vāñcheśvara*) was born in A. D. 1780 and died in 1860 evidently at an advanced age of about 80 years.

¹ Vide Appendix VI to the Madras Edition of the *Bhāttacintāmaṇi*—This is a letter dated 11th February 1828 to Vedamūrti Kuṭṭī Śāstry by Sri Kṛṣṇarāja Wodaiyar.

² Ibid, Appendices I, II, III, IV, and V dated, 26th November 1816, 8th October 1818, 25th September 1822, 24th January 1824, and 31st January 1824. These pass-ports show the facilities offered to *Kuṭṭī Kavi* during his pilgrimage to Rāmēśvaram to ensure a safe and comfortable journey.

³ Vide p. 20 of Introduction to *Bhāttacintāmaṇi*. The Genealogy recorded here is as follows:—



If these dates are correct he must have been about 36 years old when the British Resident at Poona (M. Elphinstone) issued to him a pass-port on 26th November 1816 permitting him to pass without molestation to Rameśvaram. This pass-port is historically important as it enables us to know for the first time the contact of Kutti Kavi with the Patvardhan Sardars of the Southern Maratha Country. This pass-port bears No. 292 of the Poona Residency and mentions the bearer as "in the Service of *Madhow Row Purshuram Patwardhun.*" It allows the bearer to carry with him a Dooly, a camel, six Tuttoos, five armed men and five followers. Pandit Āryasvāmī informs¹ us that this and other pass-ports were issued to Kutti Kavi while he was returning from Benares and during his halt at Poona, Dharwar and also at the village Cinchini, where he was honoured by Madhavrao Parashuram Patvardhan. He stayed with the Patvardhans upto 1818 and then started for Mysore. This information is corroborated not by the *Bhāttacintāmani* but by the *Hiranyakēśī Śrautasūtravyākhyā*² which was composed in response to a request from the ministers of the Patvardhans as stated by him in verses³ 12 to 22 at the beginning of the *Hiranyakēśī*.

¹ Introduction to *Bhāttacintāmani*, p. 16.

² The Govt. MSS Library has a fine copy of this work. It is No. 16 of 1866-68. It was prepared on 23rd April 1867 by a copyist of the name Vyankāji Nārāyaṇa Ghalsāsī who calls himself *Karhākkar* and who states that he copied by order of "Meherban Bular Sahab" who is identical with Dr. G. Fühler vide, folios 46^b (or 111^b) — "इति श्रीवांदेश्वरसुधीविरचिते श्रौतसूत्रव्याख्याने द्वितीयोऽध्यायः समाप्तः । शके १८८...नकल लिहिणार चंकाजी नारायण घटसाशी कन्हाड़ कर याने मेहेरबान बुलरसाहेब यांचा हुक्माने तयार केली असे."]. On folio 39^a (or 305^a) we have the endorsement which reads:—सख्या अनंत लिमये यांचा पुस्तकावस्तु नकल तयार केली असे." It is clear, therefore, that the original Ms of the commentary belonged to one Sakho Anant Limaye. His identity with a minister of the Patvardhan Sardars would be discussed in this paper on the strength of evidence furnished by the above commentary.

³ These verses read as follows:—

“ काशीयात्रेच्छया गच्छन् कृष्णातीरनिवासिभिः ।

पट्टवर्धनवंशस्थेः प्रभुभिः संगतो मुदा ॥ १२ ॥

तेषां वंशकमोप्यत्र किंचित्संगृह्य लिख्यते ।

चित्तपावनजातीयो हारिनामा महानभूत् ॥ १३ ॥

(continued on next page)

śrautasūtravyākhyā. He informs us that he came into contact with the Patvardhan Sardars on his way to Benares for pilgrimage¹ (v. 12). On account of this association he has thought it advisable to record the genealogy² of these Sardars who belong to the *Cittapārava* caste and whose first great ancestor was known by the name *Hari* (v. 13). He obtained the glory of

यो गणेश प्रसादेन प्राप राज्यश्रियं कुले ।
तस्य पुत्रो महानासीद्वामचन्द्राभिधः प्रभुः ॥ १४ ॥
सर्वभौमातु यो लेखे राज्यश्रियमनुक्तमां ।
सुनः परशुरामारूपस्तस्यासीद्वार्मिकोत्तमः ॥ १५ ॥
तुङ्गभद्रां समारभ्य गोदान्तं शौर्यनिर्जितं ।
राज्यं तु पालयामास यथा दशरथः पुरा ॥ १६ ॥
तत्पुत्राः सन्ति चत्वारो विस्थायाताः सर्वदिक्षु ते ।
प्रथमो रामचन्द्रारूपः प्रभुः सर्वगुणाभ्वितः ॥ १७ ॥
हरिनामानुजस्तस्य देवब्राह्मणपूजकः ।
तस्यानुजो महादेवनामा भूतद्रयापरः ॥ १८ ॥
तस्यानुजस्तुतिमान्नामा गणपतिः स्वयं ।
तेषाममात्या बह्वो नीतिमन्तः सुधार्मिकाः ॥ १९ ॥
सखारामप्रभृतयः कपिगोत्रोद्धवा द्विजाः ।
*लिमयोपपदस्तद्वज्जोगारूपः सुधार्मिकाः ॥ २० ॥
ते सत्याशाढसूत्रस्थाः श्रौतस्मात्तपरायणाः ।
व्याख्यां सूत्रस्य विमलां वेदभाष्यानुसारिणी ॥ २१ ॥
इच्छन्तीति प्रवृत्तोहं तद्व्याख्याकरणे मुदा ।
काहमल्पमतिः केदं सूत्रं मुनिमुक्तोद्गतं ॥ २२ ॥

* In the *Tanjore MSS Catalogue*, IV, 1929, p. 1684 where the Ms. of this commentary is described we have the words "हिमयोपपदः" for "लिमयोपपदः" the correct reading. Evidently the copyist was not aware of the surname लिमये current in the Deccan.

¹ While Kuṭṭī Kavi states that his contact with the Patvardhans came about on his way to Benares, Pandit Aryasvami states that this contact took place on Kuṭṭī Kavi's return journey from Benares ("काश्तिः आगमनसमये...अयं यज्ञा माधवराव परशुराम पट्टवर्धनादिभिः प्रभुभिः अतिमात्रमादृतः— p. 16 of Intro. to *Bhāṭṭacāintāmaṇi*.)

² This genealogy appears to be correct. Vide *Mahārāṣṭra Jñānakōśa* by Ketkar, Vol. XIII, (ज. p. 84).

Kingship by the grace of god *Ganeśa*¹ and had an illustrious son by name *Rāmacandra*² (v. 14). He obtained unparalleled princely glory from the Sovereign. He had a son with a highly religious mind called *Paraśurāma*³ (v. 15). He protected his kingdom like King Dāśaratha of old—a kingdom which extended from the river *Tuṅgabhadrā* to the river *Godā* and was conquered by his valour (v. 16). He has four sons renowned in all quarters. Prince Rāmacandra endowed with all good qualities is the first of them (v. 17). His brother is Hari, who is devoted to the worship of Gods and *Brahmanas*. His brother is Mahādeva by name. He is noted for his kindness to all beings (v. 18). His brother's name is Gaṇapati, who is very much praised (by the people) and who has, as his ministers, many highly moral and religious personages (v. 19) like Sakhāram and others. This *Sakhāram* is a Brahman of *Kapi gotra*⁴ and surnamed *Limaye* and is equally religious like the other minister of the name *Jog* (v. 20) He belongs to the *Satyāśādha Sūtra* and is devoted to duties in accordance with *Śruti* and *Smṛti*. It was his wish, “ I should write a commentary on the *Sūtra* (*Hiranyakesisūtra*) following the *Vedabhāṣya* and easy to understand. In accordance with this wish I have gladly undertaken to write this commentary but where am I a person of small intellect as compared with the *Sūtra*, which has come directly from the mouth of the sage (*muni*) ” ? (vs. 21-22).

In view of the details furnished by Kuṭṭi Kavi in the foregoing verses it is clear that the credit of the composition of the commentary on the *Hiranyakesisūtra* must go to a great extent to Mr. Sakharam Limaye, the minister (amātya) of Mahādevabhatta Patvardhan as it was at his request that our author commenced

¹ Vide p. 1 of हरिवंशाची बद्धर (composed by Balkrishna Harihar Patvardhan Ambekar) Ed. by V. V. Khare, Poona 1909—The family deity of the Patvardhan Sardars is Ganeśa of the place *Pule* in the Ratnagiri District of the Bombay Presidency—“ हरिभट यांगी पुल्याच्या श्रीगणपतिजवळ अनुष्ठान द्वादशवर्षे दूनीरस प्राशन करून केले ”

² Died in A. D. 1749 (Vide *Mahā. Jñānakōśa*, XIII-४ p. 84).

³ Parashuramabhaṇ Patvardhan--Born, A. D. 1739, Died A. D. 1799. Vide p. 507 of *Madhyayugīna Caritrakōśa* by Chitrava Shastri, Poona, 1937. Here a detailed account of his life and exploits is recorded with dates.

⁴ The Gotrāvali of Cītpāvan Brahmins in the Mahārāṣṭra mentions *Kapi* as the *gotra* of the Limaye families.

the composition of this work. We must now examine the date of composition of this commentary.

According to Burnell¹ this commentary was "written about 1800 A. D." Aufrech² also repeats this statement about the date of this commentary. Burnell's statement is, however, wrong as it is directly contradicted by the date of commencement of the work recorded in verse 31 by Kūtti Kavi himself. This date corresponds to A. D. 1816 (Śaka 1738).³ The question now arises : What period of time was required by our author to complete this voluminous commentary on the *Hiranyakesisūtra* and in what year it was completed by him? This question can be answered on the strength of the following extract on folio 43^b (266^b serially) of Ms No. 16 of 1866-68 of this commentary :—

“ वाञ्छेश्वरसुधीभिश्च वेदशास्त्रप्रवर्तकैः ।
साक्षात् व्यासस्वरूपैश्च कृतोयं ग्रन्थविस्तरः ॥ १ ॥
हिरण्यकेशीसूत्रस्थपदभावार्थदपिकः ।
पीतांवरेण लिखितो तनुखान्तिसृतो यथा ॥ २ ॥ ”

शके १७५० सर्वधारी नाम संवन्सरे मार्गशीर्षकृष्णाष्टम्यां हृदुवासरे समाप्तिं ॥ ”

¹ *Cata. of Tanjore MSS.*, Part I, 1879, p. 21. Burnell gives extracts from the beginning and end of the Ms described by him. In these extracts we do not find the verse containing the year in which the composition of the commentary was begun by Kūtti Kavi. This verse as recorded in the B. O. R. I. Ms No. 16 of 1866-68 reads as follows :—

“ दस्वन्य(रन्य)द्रिक्षितिमिते शके वाञ्छेश्वरः सुधीः ।
हिरण्यकेशिनां सूत्रं व्यासतुमुपचक्रने ॥ ३१ ॥ ”

The chronogram असु, अग्नि, आदि, क्षिति gives us Śaka 1738 = A.D. 1816 as the year in which, Kūtti Kavi states, he began the composition of the commentary. This date is in harmony with the date of the pass-port given to Kūtti Kavi by M. Elphinstone, the British resident at Poona on 26th November 1816. In this pass-port Kūtti Kavi is stated to be in the service of Mahādevabhaṭṭa Patvardhan, the son of Parashurambhau Patvardhan.

² *Cata. Cata.* I, 766.

³ In the *Tanjore Catalogue*, Vol. IV, 1929, p. 1687 the correct date of the commencement of the commentary represented by the chronogram “ दस्वन्य-द्रिक्षिति ” is mentioned and the discrepancy of this date with the date given by Burnell has been also mentioned. No reference has, however, been recorded in this description to the date of completion (A. D. 1828) of the commentary found recorded in B. O. R. I. Ms No. 16 of 1866-68.

This extract is obviously recorded by Pitāmbara who wrote down to dictation this commentary as composed by Vāñcheśvara and delivered orally (तनुज्ञानिस्त्रीयथा). It was completed in Śaka 1750 (= A. D. 1828) on Monday (8th tithi, Kṛṣṇapakṣa of the month of Mārgasīrṣa, the name of the Saṁvatsara being Sarvalhāri). We do not know the place where the completion of the commentary was effected. It is, however, certain that a work commenced by Kūtti Kavi in A. D. 1816 was completed by him after full 12 years in A. D. 1828. The statement of Mr. Vyankaji Narāyaṇa Ghalsāśī which follows the above extract reads as follows:—

“सखोपंत दादा लिमये यांचा पुस्तकावरून नकळ तयार केली आसे ॥
शके १७८९ प्रभव नाम संवत्सरे चैत्र कृष्ण ४ चतुर्थी भोमवासरे तारीख २३
माहे अप्रैल सन्न १८६७ इसवी रोजी नकळ लिहिणार व्यंकाजी नारायण
घळसाशी याने लिखितं ॥ श्री कृष्णार्पणमस्तु ॥”

Mr. Ghalsāśī states on 23rd April¹ 1867 that he completed his copy from the original Ms belonging to one सखोपंत दादा लिमये. Elsewhere (on folio 39^a or 305^a serially) he refers to this owner of Ms as सखो अनंत लिमये. It is very much probable that Sakhopant Limaye² whose Ms was copied for Dr. Bühler is identical with

¹ The sheet at the beginning of the Ms which records the मन्त्रसंख्या contains the following endorsement:—“तारीख २२ माहे मे सन्न १८६७ इसवी रोजी नकळ समाप्त झाली आसे हस्ते व्यंकाजी नारायण कळाडकर” Evidently this appendix was prepared on 22nd May 1867. Folio 65 records the date 2nd April 1867 and the scribe calls himself “कळाडकस्त्रेष्य”. Folio 46 records the date 25th March 1867, Folio 75, 4th June 1867, Folio 37, 17th April 1867, Folio 43-23rd April 1867, Folio 58-8th May 1867 copied at अटे (अटे येथे समाप्तिन”), Folio 56-21st May 1867. These dates show that the Ms was being copied from March to June 1867 at the village अटे [from the copy of सखो अनंत लिमये as stated by the scribe on folio 58 (सप्तमप्रश्न)]. The B. O. R. Institute acquired in 1938 about 450 MSS from Mr. Shambhurao Govind Limaye of अटे. It is probable that he belongs to the family of सखो अनंत लिमये referred to above.

² This Limaye collection of MSS acquired by the B. O. R. Institute in 1938 supplies the following evidence about this identity:—

(1) *Vākyasudhā*—(folio 10)—“लिमयोपनाम्ना सखोपंतस्य पुस्तकं ज्ञेयं” शके १७५१ (= A. D. 1829) विरोधिनामाच्छ्रौपौष्टि शुक्ल १२ भौमे इदं पुस्तकं समाप्तं ॥.....इदं पुस्तकं कृष्णभट्टामजेन आबाभट्टून लिखितं गणकाण्डेकरेण”

(2) *Jivanmuktiviveka*—“शके १७५१ विरोधिनामसंवत्सरे कार्त्तिककृष्णपक्षस्य द्वितीयायां गुरुवासरे समाप्तेयं ॥”

Sakhāram Limaye of Kapi Gotra living in A. D. 1816 and acting as an amātya or minister to Mahadeva Parashuram Patvardhan. It seems, however, possible that a copy of the commentary in question commenced in A. D. 1816 and completed in A. D. 1828 by Kuṭṭī Kavi was given to Sakharam Limaye and it was from this original contemporary copy that Bühler's copy i. e. No. 16 of 1866-68 was made and completed on 23rd April 1867.

It is now clear that the *Hiranyaśeśīrautasūtra* was composed between A. D. 1816 and 1828 and was not composed "about A. D. 1800" as stated by Dr. Burnell.

We have already mentioned a work called the *Dattacintāmaṇī* among the list of works composed by Kuṭṭī Kavi. This is a treatise dealing with adoption. In the beginning of this work he tells us that he composed the following works:—¹

(3) *Hiranyaśeśīrautasūtra*—(2nd Saṭka)—“इदं पुस्तकं १७१३ खरनाम संवत्सरे ज्येष्ठ शुक्ल १३ व्रयोदशी सौभग्यवासरे समाप्तं गोविंद रघुनाथ फलणीकरेण लिखितं ॥ सखो अनंत लिमये याचं पुस्तक असे”

(4) Ibid. (*Pūrvavaṣṭaka*)—“सखो अनंत लिमये याचं पुस्तक ॥..... “इति हिण्यकेणी श्रौतस्त्रै पूर्वपद्मक समाप्तः शके १७१३ खरनाम संवत्सरं”

(5) Ibid. (4th Saṭka)—“शके १७१५ विजयनाम संवत्सरे फालगुन कृष्ण तृतीया युरुवासरे समाप्तः गोविंद रघुनाथ फलणीकरेण लिखितं ॥ राजेशी सखो अनंत लिमये याचं पुस्तक असे”

(6) Ibid. (3rd Saṭka)—“शके १७१५ विजयनाम संवत्सरे माघ”

(7) Ibid. (5th Saṭka)—“शके १७१६ चैत्र शुद्ध प्रतिपदा गुरौ नदिनेदं पुस्तकं गोविंद रघुनाथ फलणीकरेण लिखितं ॥ राजेशी सखो अनंत लिमये याचं पुस्तक असे”

(8) *Śivatattvaviveka*—“शके १७१७ मन्मथाद्वे फालगुन शुद्ध पंचम्यां पुण्यग्रामे लेखनं समाप्तिमगमत्”

(9) *Maitrāṇīya-Mānavasūtra*—(Prathama purusa) Folio 12 शके १७५७ मन्मथनाम संवत्सरे चैत्र वय ४ युरुवासरे ते दिवसं सखोपतादादा लिमये याचं पुस्तकं पांडुरंगेन लिखितः ॥ Folio 9—“शके १७५७ मन्मथनामाद्वे चैत्र वय ८ नदिनेदं पुस्तकं सखोपतं लिमये अष्टेकर फलणीस याची पोथीस फार जपाव”

(10) *Pabandha*—Folio 15—“शके १७५८ दुर्मुख”

(11) *Pañcadaśi with commentary of Rāmakṛṣṇa*—“शके १७६२ शार्वीनाम संवत्सरे वैशाख शुक्ल षष्ठ्यां युरुवासरे इदं पुस्तकं समाप्तिमगमत्”

¹ Hultzsch: *Reports on San. MSS.*, No. II, Madras, 1895. Appendix pp. 144-145—Extract No. 1528. Hultzsch summarizes this extract on p. vi of his Report II as follows:—

(1) “ विद्वत्ति शतकस्य ” i. e. commentary on the माहिष शतक composed by his grandfather, (2) हिरण्यकेशीसूत्रव्याख्या विद्वत्ति ” (3) काकतालीयवादार्थ ” (4) “ निर्णयो मलमासस्य ” and (5) दत्तचिन्तामणि.

Let us now try to fix the relative chronology of some of the works of Kuṭṭi Kavi on the basis of evidence recorded in this paper. The following tabular statement will be of some use in fixing the relative chronology in question :—

Works	Chronology	Source of Chronology
1 हिरण्यकेशीसूत्रव्याख्या	A. D. 1816 to 1828	B. O. R. I. Ms No. 16 of 1866-68
2 दत्तचिन्तामणि	after A. D. 1816	दत्तचिन्तामणि mentions हि, के. सूबडवारुणा
3 भाट्टचिन्तामणि	after A. D. 1816	भाट्टचिन्तामणि mentions दत्तचिन्तामणि
4 माहिषशतकव्याख्या	Probably after A. D. 1816	mentioned in दत्तचिन्तामणि and भाट्टचिन्तामणि
5 काकतालीयवादार्थ	"	"
6 मलमासनिर्णय	"	mentioned in दत्तचिन्तामणि
7 आद्याचिन्तामणि	"	mentioned in भाठो चिन्ता०
8 ब्रह्मवार्थचिन्तामणि	"	"
9 धूर्णनचन्द्रिका	unknown	not yet determined
10 श्रुतार्थचन्द्रिका	"	"
11 तर्कसंग्रहव्याख्या	"	"

In verse 10 at the beginning of the *Hiranyakesisūtravyākhyā* Kuṭṭi Kavi calls himself “ मलमासनिर्णयपदुः ”. If we understand this epithet to refer to his composition of मलमासनिर्णय we shall have to look upon the मलमासनिर्णय as earlier than A. D. 1816. With reference to item Nos. 4, 5, and 7 to 11 the chronology

“ No 1528 is a copy of *Dattacintāmaṇi*, a work on the same subject by Vāñchesvara, the son of Narasimha or Nṛsimha, grandson of Mādhava and great grandson of another Vāñchesvara. He also wrote a commentary on his great-grandfather's *Māhiṣāsataka* (*Tanjore Cata*, p. 164^a), a commentary on the whole *Hiranyakesisūtra* (a portion of this is found in No. 682), a logical work entitled *Kākatāliyavādartha* and the *Malamūsanirṇaya*. According to the colophon of No. 682, his great-grandfather whose name was likewise Vāñchesvara had been the minister of (the Maratha king) Tukoji of the family of Bhosale. Govindadikṣita, an ancestor of Vāñchesvara had been the prime--minister of Raghunātha one of the (Nayaka) rulers of Tanjapura (*Tanjore*). ”

indicated is only probable as the MSS of these works are not before me and hence I have no means of making a closer study of the problem of their exact chronology. I may, however, note here the MSS of the works of *Kutti Kavi* mentioned by Aufrecht. These are as follows :—

(1) दत्तचिन्तामणि¹— dh. by Vāñchesvara, son of Narasimha Hz. 1091. 1528 (Vide CC III, 53).

(2) भारुचिन्तामणि— No MSS recorded by Aufrecht. The Madras Edition of this work of 1934 is based on a rare MS.

(3) माहिषशतकव्याख्या— Burnell 164^a (Vide CCI, 444) and BC 434 (CCIII, 96).

(4) काकतालीयवादार्थ— Hz. 2, p. 144 (CCIII, 19).

(5) मलमासनिर्णय²— Hz. 1528 p. 144 (CCIII, 93).

(6) श्राद्धचिन्तामणि³— Some works of this name are mentioned by Aufrecht but none is ascribed to Vāñchesvara.

(7) ब्रह्मसूत्रार्थचिन्तामणि— No MS has been recorded by Aufrecht under this title.

(8) धर्मनवन्दिका— No MS recorded by Aufrecht.

(9) श्रुतार्थचान्दिका— Do

(10) तर्कसंग्रहव्याख्या— Do

(11) हिरण्यकेशीसूत्रव्याख्या— 3 MSS (Vide CCI, 766).

On the basis of the evidence recorded in this paper the following conclusions may be arrived at :—

(1) The literary activity of *Kutti Kavi* lies mainly between A. D. 1816 and 1840 or so.

(2) The commentary on the *Hiranyakeshisutra* was commenced by him in A. D. 1816 and completed in A. D. 1823.

(3) *Kutti Kavi* gives us a genealogy of the Patvardhan Sardars of the Southern Maratha Country at the beginning of the commentary on the *Hiranyakeshisutra*. This genealogy is correct so far as it goes.

¹ Mentioned by Kane: *Hist. of Dharma.*, I, 557.

² Ibid, p. 601.

³ Not mentioned by Mr. Kane, who mentions works of this name by Vācaspatimiśra and Śivarāma. On p. 736 Mr. Kane refers to *Kutti Kavi* as “वच्छधार, son of नरसिंह, author of दत्तचिन्तामणि and मलमासनिर्णय.” The correct name appears to be “वाञ्छधर” (= वाञ्छानाथ)—Vide Krishnamachariar: *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, Madras, 1937, p. 1086 footnote.

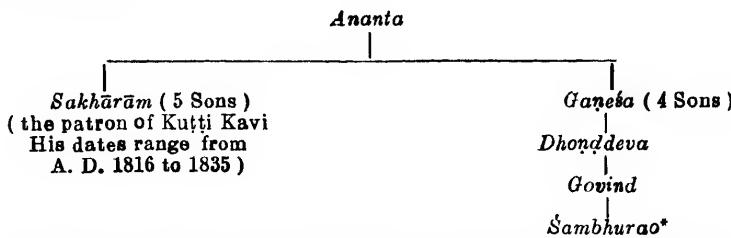
(4) Kuṭṭi Kavi composed the above commentary at the express desire of Sakharam Limays of *kapi gotra*, whom he describes as the *amātya* or minister of Mahadeva Parashuram Patvardhan. The surname of another minister mentioned by him is Jog, who needs identification.

(5) Sakharama Limaye mentioned by Kuṭṭi Kavi as *amātya* appears to be identical¹ with Sakho Ananta Limaye of Aṣṭe (Dist. Satara) who was a *Fuḍnis* or Finance minister of the Patvardhans with his native place at Aṣṭe (Aṣṭekar). The B. O. R. Institute acquired in 1938 about 450 MSS from Mr. Shambhurao Govind Limaye of Aṣṭe, who is evidently descended from Sakhopant Dādā or Sakho Ananta Limaye. This Limaye collection contains MSS with the endorsements that they belonged to Sakho Ananta Limaye Aṣṭekar Fadnis. These endorsements are dated A.D. 1829, 1831, 1833, 1834 and 1835.

(6) The B. O. R. Institute Ms No. 16 of 1866-68 of the *Hiranyakesisūtravyākhyā* by Kuṭṭi Kavi was copied for Dr. Bühler between March and June 1867 at Aṣṭe from the original belonging to Sakho Ananta Limaye and dated A. D. 1828, the date of completion of the commentary.

(7) Of the eleven works known to have been composed by Kuṭṭi Kavi, MSS of about six have been traced and recorded in

¹ My surmise about this identity has since been corroborated by the Genealogy of the Limaye Family of Aṣṭe, kindly sent by Mr. Shambhurao Limaye on 7th July 1939. I reproduce below only the pertinent portion of this Genealogy :—



* Sambhurao Limaye is a middle-aged man in 1939. He states that the Aṣṭe branch of the Limaye Family originally hailed from the village Someśvara near Ratnāgiri. The Someśvara line was styled as "Dharmādikāri Limaye." I intend to publish an account of Sakho Ananta Limaye and his interest in Sanskrit MSS. along with my list of the MSS in the Limaye collection acquired by the B.O.R. Institute.

Catalogues. An effort should be made to locate the MSS of the remaining five works.

(8) For the present the relative chronology of only three works has been established in this paper, according to which the *Hiranyakesīśītravyākhyā* (begun in A.D. 1816 and finished in A.D. 1828) was started first. The *Dattacintāmaṇi* which mentions this commentary was composed later while the *Bhāṭṭacintāmaṇi* which mentions both the above works is evidently the 3rd work in this order. The *Malamāsnirṇaya* may have been composed before A.D. 1816 as *Kuṭṭi Kavi* calls himself "*Malamāsnirṇayapaṭu*" in the above commentary. The remaining works are not mentioned in this commentary, an omission which may suggest that they were composed after A.D. 1816. This point, however, needs further investigation.

(9) *Kuṭṭi Kavi* was a very learned man. Judging by the details recorded in the several passports issued to him by Mount Stuart Elphinstone the British Resident at Poona in A.D. 1816 and other officers, *Kuṭṭi Kavi* appears to have been very influential as well.

P. S.—The following further colophons containing references to Sakhopant Limaye are found in the MSS of the Limaye collection:—

MSS of मांडूक्योपनिषद्भाष्य—dated Śaka 1716 (A.D. 1824)—“मांडूक्यो-
पनिषद्भाष्यलेखनं यदि पुस्तके । श्री सखोपंत लिमये ज्ञानमार्ग प्रदर्शकः ॥”

MSS of प्रश्नोपनिषद्भाष्य—dated Śaka 1748 (= A.D. 1828)

“सख नाम्न इति स्थातस्वन्तुक्तिः पाठ्येद्बुधैः ॥”

MSS of वेदांतपरिभाषा — date Śaka 1748 (= A.D. 1826)

दादा भिधान लिमये सखपंत नाम ।

नियाचनः श्रवणमंगलवेदमार्गः ॥ ॥”

Sakhopant appears to have been a pioneer in the work of collection and preservation of MSS, later started in 1866 by the Bombay Government.

DR. V. S. SUKTHANKAR'S THEORY OF THE
BHRGUISATION OF THE ORIGINAL BHARATA¹
AND THE LIGHT IT THROWS ON THE
DRAVIDIAN PROBLEM

BY

A. P. KARMARKAR, M. A., LL. B.

I. *Introductory*

Early since the middle of the first quarter of the present century, the study of the Epics and the Purāṇas, as a source for the rebuilding of the ancient history of India, received an impetus at the hands of an eminent scholar like Pargiter, who, however, has done almost the whole of the spade-work. Further, not to mention the efforts made by E. W. Hopkins, C. V. Vaidya and Jayaswal in this direction, the work is now undertaken in the field of the Mahābhārata by a batch of scholars headed by Dr. V. S. Sukthankar of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. Apart from his main work of the editing of the Mahābhārata, Dr. Sukthankar is also writing a series of monographs detailing the various historical aspects of the Great Epic, which, however, are drawing a keen attention of the scholars in the field. Especially his writing on the Bhṛgus in the Mahābhārata is of immense importance in this connection in so far as it not only indicates the learned scholarship and literary acumen of the writer, but it also throws a wonderful light on the solution of the most knotty point in regard to the final redaction of the present Mahābhārata. Dr. Sukthankar has rightly innovated the theory when he says, that 'the Bhṛgus were the *People* who can be said to be the re-modellers of the Mahābhārata in its present form out of the original Bhārata, which was composed by Vyāsa and which consisted of 24000 stanzas'². The theory really acts as a double-edged sword so far as it does not allow of any such theories propounded by scholars like Holtzmann and others, who tried to turn the original story in rather a topsy-turvy manner, and at the same time it indirectly throws a flood of light on the Reformist activities of the Bhṛgus in regard to their relation to-

¹ Cf. *Annals of the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute*, Vol. xviii, pp. 1-76.

² However, I am still doubtful about the point whether Vyāsa himself is the direct composer of the Bhārata.

wards the indigenous people of India. We shall see about it later on.

II. The Bhṛgus in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas.

(1) *The Bhṛgus in the Mahābhārata*—Dr. Sukthankar has collected together all the materials regarding the activities and the history of the Bhṛgus obtaining in the Mahābhārata. On pp. 64–65 of his article, he says that, the Bhārgavas are represented in our Epic as irascible sages, domineering, arrogant, unbending and revengeful... Owing to the occult powers, the Bhārgavas are (described as) gods walking on the earth. Further, Bhṛgu, the eponymus ancestor of the Bhārgavas, was one of the Prajāpatis, and is represented as having sprung from Brahmā's heart. Later, Bhṛgu is described as the greatest of the Maharsis. Eventually Dr. Sukthankar has elaborated on the topic of the mighty deeds of Paraśurāma, and has discussed in detail the various Ākhyānas and Saṃvādas in regard to the Bhṛgus and their brother-sages. On page 66, he has also tried to summarise the position of the Bhṛgus as detailed in ancient Indian literature. He has also remarked on page 64, that Paraśurāma has not still attained the position of an Avatāra in the Mahābhārata.

(2) *The Bhṛgus in the Purāṇas*—In our opinion the Bhṛgus acquire a greater prominence in the Purāṇas. This is mainly due to the fact, that the Purāṇas have undergone a wholesale revision in the period of the Guptas. The theory regarding Paraśurāma as the Avatāra of Viṣṇu is met with general approval. The ancestor of the Bhṛgus is said to have been so powerful as to curse even Viṣṇu, so that he was to be born for seven times on this earth. Bhṛgu is further described as one of the eighteen authors on the 'Art of Building' (Vāstu-Śilpa). Further, the details regarding their genealogy and history is more beautifully summed up in the various portions of the Purāṇas. We also get sufficient data regarding the side activities of Śukra and his successors towards the rejuvenation of the Daityas and Asuras, i. e. the indigenous people of India.

III. The Bhṛgus and the Dravidian Problem.

We agree with Dr. Sukthankar when he says, that the Bhṛgus formed one of the most mighty races in ancient India. We further agree with his thinking, that the Bhṛgus did actually handle the Bhārata, and that they remodelled the same into the present

Mahābhārata. He has arrived at the right conclusion partly logically and partly intuitively, which, however, reminds us all the while of the original scholarship of the late Sir R. G. Bhandarkar.

The problem of the Bhrguisation of the original Bhārata indirectly throws a flood of light on the subject of the conflict that was going on between the Aryans like the Atris and others on the one hand, and the reformist Aryans like the Bhrgus on the other. The activities of the sage Atri towards the spreading of the Aryan cult is already well-known to the readers of the Vedic literature. His conflict with the Dasyus may be perceived from the following amongst other passages of the Rgveda.

आ यद्वामीयचक्षसा मित्रं वृयं च सुरयः ।
व्यचिष्ठे बहुपाप्ये यतेमहि स्तुराज्ये ॥ क्र. ५.६६.६

Or again

ऋषिं न रावं हंसः पाश्चजन्यमूर्खीसादात्रि मुञ्चथो गणेन ।
मिनन्ता दस्युराशीवस्य माया अनुपूर्वं वृषणा चुदयन्ता ॥
क्र. १.११७.३

The Asuras, on the other hand, were deadly against the imperialistic tendency of conquest of the Aryans. Eventually they found in the Bhrgus their keenest friends, who possessed the greatest Reformist tendencies and who were always ready to side with them. The Bhrgus evidently played their role in two ways : they wanted to maintain their supremacy amongst the Aryans on the one hand, and at the same time they wanted to mix with the indigenous races of India, either by means of fusion of races or by imbibing their customs and manners, let it be to any limited extent.

Eventually, we do find this tendency of tug-of-war between the orthodox and the reformist Aryans in their literature. The Bhrgus had the weapon of literary excellence at their disposal. To them are attributed the joint authorship of the Atharva Veda, and the authorship of the Bhrgu-Samhitā, the Vāstu-Śāstra, the Samvādas and other allied literature. These works do really throw a peculiar light on their capacity of high learning. On the other hand, the efforts of the orthodox Aryans to overshadow the achievements of the Bhrgus can be perceived from the following Bhrgu though himself called as the greatest of the Rsis (Maharsi).

is not included in the list of the seven sages; and the name of Manu is foisted in the place of the original Bhṛgu in the case of the Bhṛgu-Samhitā. Thus regular efforts seem to have been made to undermine the prominence of the Bhṛgu race in ancient times.

IV. The Bhṛgus and Southern India

The following few facts in connection with nearest affection and the remembrance of the Bhṛgu race amongst the people of Southern India, may give a direct clue in regard to the efforts made by the best of the Bhṛgu race towards the rejuvenation of the Dravidian civilization in ancient India. The site of Śukra (Venus) or the Kalei of the Mohenjodaro times,¹ is still taken to be auspicious. Further, Paraśurāma is still worshipped in the Ēlnād² (Mohenjo Daro Ins.) or the province of the Sapta-Dra-viḍa-Koṅkaṇas of the Purāṇas e. g. the western-most part of Southern India by the Nāmbudris, Heggades, Koṅkanasthas and others. Further Renukā or the Dravidian deity Ellammā is still worshipped by thousands of people in this province. Jambagni's marriage with Renukā may also give a clue in regard to the origin of the Kṣatriyas, who in our opinion were mostly the direct recruits from the mighty Dravidian races. Further there are references available in the Purāṇas and the Mahābhārata to prove that Śukra and Paraśurāma were the worshippers of Mahādeva, the original god of the Minas (Minanātha)³.

Thus we may not feel surprised if we happen to come to the conclusion that Dr. Sukthankar's theory while interpreting the question in regard to the final redaction of the Mahābhārata, also indirectly throws a flood of light on the problem of the solution of the Dravidian civilisation in ancient India. The learned Savant Rev. H. Heras, S. J., M. A., is busy with laying a firm foundation for the Proto-Indian Theory, and Dr. Sukthankar here gives a mighty clue regarding the interpretation of the ancient Aryan writings from the Dravidian point of view. We are still awaiting for their further researches in this direction.

Information given to me personally by Rev. H. Heras, S.J. (I am giving publicity to the same with due apologies).

Cf. Rev. H. Heras S. J.: *Indian Culture* III, 4. Mohenjo Daro : The People and the land p. 719.

Cf. Skanda Purāṇa I, Māheśvara Kh. Adh. 17, 200 cf. also the various articles contributed to different Journals by Rev. H. Heras,

THE FORMATION OF KONKANI*

By

S. M. KATRE, M. A., PH. D., (London).

§ 191. The process of simplification witnessed in the MI-A. stage continued in the NI-A. stage, and worked an absolutely new change from the synthetic to the analytic stage. This process of simplification is in reality a reducing and regularizing process. As in MI-A. two numbers alone- singular and plural- are preserved. Of the many dialects of Konkani the southern group shows the distinction between the sing. and plur. whereas the northern group, in line with Marathi,¹ does not distinguish them in the nominative of masculines derived from the Sanskrit -a class, e. g. *dēv* (in opposition to s. gs. *dēvu*: *deva*)².

DECLENSION

§ 192. Konkani, like other I-A. languages, preserves in a reduced degree and a more regularized manner the flexional system of MI-A. But on the ruins of the older formal system the NI-A. have built up certain characteristics of their own.

This is seen principally in the themes or stems where the phonological changes studied by us in the first part show the general maintenance of the I-A. characteristics of these changes. Then there is the question of the gender, number, and case with case-terminations.

The theme or stem.

§ 193. Bearing in mind our observations on the final vowels (§§ 15-20) we may say that all nouns in Konkani end in -a, -ā, -i or -ī, -u or -ū, -o and -ē.

- a: *māna* nape of the neck ; *mana* mind ; *ghara* house ; *kāma* work, etc.
- ā: *dhaddā*, *boddā* dull-witted, *mainā* a bird, *gaddā* chief.
- i: *mātti* mud ; *bhūyi* earth ; *rāpi* queen ; *mhāntāri* old woman.

* Continued from the Annals Vol. XVIII Part (iv) p. 384.

¹ *La langue marathe*, § 177, (p. 176).

² In this Section s. and gs. will be taken as the norm for all Konkani dialects ; forms for x. gx. nx. g. etc. can be derived from these by the application of the laws arrived at in the Phonology Section.

-[्]*u*: *pūtu* son; *m̄hv̄u* mead, honey; *kānu* ear, etc.
 -*o*: *ghōlo* horse; *pānno* udder; *m̄hāntāro* old man, etc.
 -*e*: *sūp̄e* dog; *māttē* head; *sāttē* umbrella etc.; -*i*, -*ī*: *dhai* curds; *mot̄i* pearl.

As a result of the loss of the original short finals of the MI-A. in the northern Konkāñi dialects we have stems ending in consonants also, but their original ending may easily be seen in s. gs. dialects. Hence we shall not specially deal with the northern dialects in this connection unless they show some characteristics not witnessed in the southern group.

Gender

§ 194. The distinction of the three genders noticed in OI-A. and MI-A. is clearly kept up in the dialects of Konkāñi, a feature which it shares with Marāṭhi, Gujarāti, Simhalese on the one hand, and with the Himalayan language Bhadarwahi¹ on the other.

The results of J. Lohmann's *Genus* and *Sexus*² show us that in Indo-European the idea of *sex* is secondary whereas the idea of *genus* (animate : inanimate) is primary, that the neuter builds in its fundamental forms a pure morphological category and that from the *formal* point of view the Feminine and Masculine form a single category, and that originally from this consideration the I-E. system had no connection in its *genus*-system with the *sex* of the thing denoted. In PI-A. and OI-A. the distinction between animate and inanimate genus has no importance; the morphology shows that except in the direct cases (Nom.-Acc.) the Masc. and Neut. form a single category in opposition to the Fem. For a general consideration of this problem as applied to the New Indo-Aryan languages see Bloch, *L'indo-aryen*, pp. 150 seq.

While the distinction of the genders has been preserved in all these three stages so far as the above-mentioned languages are

¹ *Indian Linguistics*, Bulletin of the Linguistic Society of India, Vol. I, parts II-IV, 1931, pp. 1-38. Neuter Gender in Bhadarwahi by Siddheshwar Varma.

² Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1932. [= Ergänzungshefte zur Zeit. f. vergl. Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der. idg. Sprachen, No. 20.].

concerned, the gender of individual nouns has not always been kept intact. The beginnings of a certain normalization are already seen in the declension of the Fem. *-i* and *-ū* and the corresponding Masc. nouns in the Nom.-Acc. plural forms, e. g. *aggio*, *sahūo* by the side of other forms such as *maio*, *deviō*, *dhenūo* *vahūo*. This tendency of reducing the Masc. nouns of OI-A. ending in *-i* or *-u* to Fem. in NI-A. is seen in many instances :

Sk. *agnīḥ* : MI-A. *aggi*, NIA. *āg*, *āgi*, *agg* etc. fem.

This may not be taken as a general rule for all NI-A. languages, e. g. Sk. *ikṣuḥ* : Hindi *ākh*, *ākh* fem. but Marāṭhi *ās*, Panjabi *ikkh* masc.

Again in the case of Sk. *vártman* neut. (*vartma*), MI-A. *vattā* fem. *vatta* masc. and neut. all the modern derivatives show the feminine gender.

§ 195. The Konkani nouns have certain characteristic endings connected with the different genders.

-a with neut. and fem. : (a) Neut. *kāma* work; *mana* mind; *ghara* house; etc.

(b) Fem. *māna* the nape of the neck; *vāta* way, *jāmga* think, *lāja* shame etc.

-ā with masc. only¹ : *dhadlā* imbecile, dull-witter, *gaddā* chief, etc.

-ī with fem. only : *mātti* mud, *kātri* scissors, *hastī* elephant, etc.

-u with masc. only² : *hātu* hand, *kānu* ear, *duddu* money etc. (Exception : s. gs. *āv-su* mother),

-ē with neut. only : *sūnē* dog; *sāttē* umbrella, parasol; *māttē* head, etc.

-ī with neut. in *dhhī* (Sk. *dadhi-*) curds, *motī* (Sk. *manklikam*)

-o with masc. only : *ghodo* horse, *kollo* fox etc.

§ 196. It will be seen from above that where Marāṭhi shows a feminine in *-ū* (e. g. *vālū*) from a MI-A. *-uā*: Sk. *-u-kā* Konkani will always show a Masc., whereas in the case of

¹ Excepting *nomina propria*, e. g. *Rādhā*, *Umā*, *Rrmā*, etc.

² Excepting some neutrals in *-ū* : *cerqū* child, *cēqū* young maid-servant, etc.

Marāṭhi masc. in *-ī* (e. g. *hātī* or *hāthī*: Sk. *hastī*) Konkani will always show a fem. (e. g. *tī hastī* fem.). We may therefore deduce from such examples that normalization of gender etc. has proceeded to a greater extent in the Konkani dialects than in the Marāṭhi dialects. In the whole of this section the final short vowels are taken as characteristic of *ur-Konkani* nouns although at present they are seen only in the southern group, having been recently lost in the northern group.

§ 197. The Konkani neuter in *-a* sometimes corresponds to Sk. masc. : s. gs. *mājjara* (*mārjārah*) cat, *gāḍava* (*gardabhaḥ*), ass, *dukkara* (*sūkaraḥ*) pig. In fact all names indicating some of these domestic animals appear to be neuter whereas the wild animals are generally indicated in the masc. as in OI-A. : s. gs. *vāgu* (*vyāghraḥ*) tiger, *siṁhu* (*siṁhah*) lion. This does not apply to extended nouns, as in *cittala* neut. spotted stag, hind, deer (Sk. *citra-* with MI-A. *-alla-* extension). The extension in *-aka-* shows all the three genders : s. gs. x. gx. nx. etc. *ghoḍo* masc. *ghoḍī* fem. horse, mare and *sūṇē* dog. As a matter of fact where this *-aka-* is in the masc. we automatically get the fem. in *-ikū-*, that is Konkani *-ī*, but the neut. remains without any change; thus *sūṇē* represents a dog as well as a bitch, but *ghoḍo* represents a stallion and *ghoḍī* a mare.

It therefore appears that a study of the entire mass of these examples from the NI-A. languages distinguishing these three genders is absolutely essential for discovering the principles of such differentiation—a subject to be investigated outside our present scope.

§ 198. The neut. which separates itself from the masc. only in the direct cases (nom.-acc.) in OI-A. stages is identical in the other cases with the masc. And in general there is no semantic connection between these two; but not so between the masc. and fem. of adjectival nouns; here the sense of bigness and smallness is inherent in the masc. and fem. respectively. Thus we have *māḍdo* in s. gs. x. for the cocoanut tree but *māḍdi* for the betelnut tree, showing the comparative sizes of the two nuts. In a few cases, however, the rôle is exchanged: s. gs. *kaṭso* a small pitcher: *kaṭśi* a big pitcher (? a measure of rice equal to

14 seers). A similar semantic relationship holds good between neut. and fem. nous : s. gs. *dora* rope : *dōrī* fem. a thread.

Number

§ 199. Like the MI-A. dialects Konkani possesses two numbers, singular and plural, in opposition to singular, dual and plural of OI-A. The dual in OI-A. is particularly connected with pairs such as *pitarau* parents, *bhrūvau* eyebrows, etc. But gradually the use of the numeral *dvi-* replaced the use of the dual. The idea of duality in Konkani as in all MI-A. and NI-A. dialects is conveyed by the use of the numeral for two. The plural is used to indicate, besides plurality, a kind of respect; this is in fact an honorific use which it shares with most of the modern Indo-European languages. Of the Konkani dialects s. alone restricts itself generally to plurality, for there is no honorific plural as such among its speakers who use it only when the need arises to converse with members of other communities.

Case

§ 200. Like all NI-A. languages Konkani knows only two cases—the direct and the oblique. The nominative and accusative of OI-A. have merged into the direct case. For a discussion of the history of this change in Indo-Aryan, see Jules Bloch, *La langue marathé* §§ 181–184 (pp. 179–183) and *L'Indo-aryen*, pp. 156–161. Unlike other languages of the type like Marāṭhi the vocative of Sk. has not merged in the direct case, but in the oblique. These two cases constitute the characteristic of Konkani flexion.

The direct case is used generally as the subject, the inanimate direct object (e. g. *rāmāka āmbo dittā*) he gives a mango to Rāma etc.) but never as a vocative as in other cognate languages.

The oblique case is used with or without postpositions; the lost postposition is seen only in hurried speech, but appears on slow analysis of the forms in question. Thus in s. gs. *Rāmā āmbo dittā* a mango has been given to Rāma the form *rāmā* is identical with *rāmāk(a)*, for the question *kōṇāk(a)?* to whom?, is invariably replied to by *rāmāk(a)*.

§ 201. As in Marāṭhī and other NI-A. languages, the direct case of bases ending in masc. *-a* in Sk. or *-u* (nom. sg. form) of Konkani is based on the corresponding nom. and dative-genitive forms of OI-A.

The direct singular ends in *-u* (e. g. *hūt-u*) and the direct plural in *-a* (*hāta*, i. e. *hāt-a*); this will explain why the general practice is to give the basic form of the first as *hātu* (ending in *-u*, just as *ghod-o* is ending in *-o*) whereas in the case of similar plural numerals we have the bases given as *pāñc-a*, *sāt-a*, *āt-a*, *nāvv-a* etc.

Corresponding to the above scheme we have in OI-A. *dēvah* (*dēvo* before sonants): *dēvāḥ* (or *dēvā* before sonants), the *-o* and *-ā* being respectively reduced to Konkani *-u* and *-a*. The sing. nom. *-u* is attested in Apabhrāmśa and old Marāṭhī. Similarly the plural in *-a*.

In the pronominal adjectival forms like *to*, *jo*, *ho* etc. of Konkani we are to seek not the conservation of the nom. sg. in *-o*, but rather the extension of the bases with *-ka* giving us a regular *-o* ending. This *-ka* extension is applicable not only to adjectival and pronominal bases but also to some verbal bases in MI-A. in addition to adverbs.

§ 202. From the dat.-gen. *-aha* of Apabhrāmśa we get the oblique case for the masc.-neut. of Sk. *-a-* declension in Konkani as *-ā*. Thus from *dēvu* the direct case in the sing. we get the oblique singular as *dev-a* and from the neut. *mana* we get the oblique sing. *man-ā*.

Similarly from the dat.-gen. plur. *-ahā* of Apabhrāmśa the oblique plural in *-ā* is derived in Konkani: dir. sing. *dēv-u*, plur. *dev-a*, but oblique sing. *dev-ā*, plur. *dev-ā*; so also from the neut. *mana* the oblique sing. *man-ā*, plur. *man-ā*.

§ 203. The direct case of neuters in *-a* of OI-A. follows the general trend of I-A. development. Thus from the sing. *phala-m* we get s. gs. *phala* by the loss of the final nasal (see § 16^a) of MI-A. *phala-m*; corresponding to OI-A. *phalāni* we have MI-A. *phalāñim* or *phalā-i* regularly giving the Mar. oblique plur. *phal-ē*, but all Konkani dialects we get *phal-a*; this form can only be traced to Vedic neut. plur. in *-ā* which is about twice as frequent.

in the R̄gveda as the form in *-āni*; the nasality appears to be due to the contamination of these two giving us an *ur-Konkanī -āñ*: mod. Konkanī *-ā*, unless we base it on the analogy of the oblique *-ā* : *-āñ*.

§ 204. The direct case of feminine nouns ending in Konkanī in *-a* (from OI-A. *-ā*) conserves the MI-A. tradition: sing. *mālā* : Konkanī *māla*, and plur. *mālā-o* : Konk. *māl-o*.

The oblique case has the desinence *-e* for the sing. and *-ā* for the plur.: e. g. s. gs. *mān-a*, sing. : *mān(n)-o* plur. in the direct case, and in the oblique sing. *mān(n)-e*: plur. *mān(n)-ā*. The oblique singular is derived from Apabhraṁśa Gen.-Loc. termination *-ahe* and the plur. from the corresponding Ap. plur. *-ahā*.

§ 205. Most of the K. words in *-i* are derived from Sk. *-in*, *-ikā* or simply *-i*, illustrated respectively by s. gs. *hasti*, *mātti* and *rāti* : Sk. *hastin-*, *mṛttikā* and *rātri*. MI-A. tradition is conserved here :

	Sing.	Plur.
	<i>ratti</i>	<i>ratti-(y)o</i>
Kon.	<i>rāt-i</i>	<i>rāt-yo</i>

on the analogy of which we have *mātt-i* : *māt-yo*, *hast-i* : *hast-yo* etc.

The oblique sing. and plur. are respectively characterised by the desinences *-ye* and *yā*, corresponding to *-e* and *-ā* of the preceding paragraph. The palatalization in *-ye* and *-yā* is due to the extended forms of a majority of these nouns in *-ikā*. The bases for all these are the Ap. gen. sing. and plur. terminations. We thus get the oblique forms *rāt-ye* in sing., *rāt-yā* in plur.

§ 206. The few rare cases of the neuter in *-i* or *ī* show the same type of oblique cases as the fem. in *-i* : *mōt-ye* : *mōt-yā* from *mōtī* : Sk. *mauktikam*, Pk. *mottiam*.

In the direct case, however, we have *mōtī* in the sing. and *mōtī* in the plur., the difference being only in the quantity of the final vowel or rather the stress with it is pronounced. In actuality, however, apart from this accent, it is not always possible to distinguish the different lengths of the final vowel.

§ 207 The neuters in *-ē* are due to OI-A. *-aka* ending. The direct desinences are *-ē* in the sing. and *-i* in the plur.

Sk.	sing.	<i>śuna-kam</i>	plur.	<i>śunkāni</i>
Pk.		<i>suna-yam</i>		<i>sunayāmī</i>
Kon.		<i>sūn-e</i>		<i>sūn-i</i>

The plur. here corresponds to the -e of Marāthī.

The oblique is given by -yā in the sing. and -yā in the plur., corresponding to the -ā and ā of corresponding neuters in -a, i. e. the unextended neuters. Palatalization or the presence of -v- is due to the extension in -aka-. The Ap. gen. terminations again give us the regular oblique desinences.

§ 208. The masculines in -o are due to the -aka- extension of OI-A. The direct case is given by -o in the sing. and -e in the plur.: *ghodo* : *ghode*. We have shown that the -o is due to the inflected form of OI-A. -ako, MI-A. -ao, and that the plur. -e is to be taken as the plur. -akā (before sonants), MI-A. -ayā (§ 55).

The oblique is given by -yā in the sing. and -yā in the plur. as in the preceding case.

§ 209. Certain neuters in -u or -ū arising from the OI-A. -aka, MI-A. -u(y)a-, like the neuters -i or ī arising from OI-A. -ika, MI-A. -i(y)a-, need special mention here. The direct sing. ends in -ū short or long, but the plural ends in -vā: s. gs. -cerdū
cerd-vā.

The oblique sing. ends in -vā and the plur. in vā. The loss of v- in the ending -vā (sing.) corresponding to -vā (plur.) in cerd-ā is perhaps due to the hesitation of recognising the gender, but more probably to the cluster -rd-.

The parallelism is complete between this class and the other type of neuter nouns studied above.

§ 210 Observations on the different types.— In the preceding paragraphs we have seen the characteristics of the entire bases of southern Konkani. But there appears in x. gx. nx. etc. a certain tendency towards special treatment of particularly loan words, tat-samas or semi-tatsamas.

For instance Father Stephens gives in his *Grammatica* (2nd ed. 1857, p. 18) the two words *darji* (*dörzi*) tailor, (*vēlu*) bamboo. The direct case in both instances is sing. & plur. *darji* and *vēlu*; similarly the oblique sing. & plur. appears as *darjā* (*dörzia*) and

velvā (*veltua*), all belonging to his sixth declensional system. The rest are exactly as given in the preceding section.

Similarly in Father Maffei's *Grammar* tat-sama words like *guru* priest, *vastu* thing, etc. (pp. 36-37) have the same form for sing. and plur. in the direct case and nasalisation alone differentiating the oblique sing. and plur. This is seen in Portuguese as well : *pādrī* (p. 33).

The desinences of the various cases treated above vary phonologically with each dialect. Thus corresponding to s. gs. -e we may have x. -i which also stands for s. gs. -ye : s. gs. *vāl-ye* obl. sing. : x. *vāl-i*. Such reductions are also seen in s. gs. learned borrowings : *pādr-yā* : *pādr-i*, obl. sing. or *pādr-e*.

Purely Sanskrit borrowings follow the I-A. model. Thus Father Stephens cites on p. 10 Sk. *kalpanā*-(*cōlpōna*) thought. The forms given are :

direct :	sing. <i>kalpanā</i> (<i>colpōna</i>)	plur. <i>kalpanā</i> (<i>cōlpōna</i>)
oblique :	<i>kalpane</i> (<i>cōlpōne</i>)	<i>kalpanā</i> (<i>cōlpōnā</i>)

which are perfectly intelligible.

§ 210 Certain changes which occur in polysyllabic words in the formation of the direct and oblique cases should be noted here. The illustration of a word like *mājjara* cat will be typical.

	sing.	plur.
direct	<i>mājjar-a</i>	<i>mājjrā</i> (through <i>mājjār-ā</i>)
oblique	<i>mājjr-ā</i> (<i>mājjār-ā</i>)	<i>mājjr-ā</i> (<i>mājjār-ā</i>)

The penultimate vowel in s. gs. is lost in the dir. plur. and obl. sing. as well as plur. This law constitutes the rhythmic quality of the declension.

Traces of other historical desinences.

§ 211 Just as the nom.-acc. forms of OI-A. and MI-A. have given rise to the NI-A. direct case, and the Apabhrānta genitive has yielded the NI-A. oblique case, we find in certain formations of Konkani traces of the earlier I-A. system, which it shares to some extent with Marāṭhī. As we have no traces of a Konkani literature as such earlier than the 16th century A. D. we cannot verify at present the earlier forms employed in K.

Vocative

§ 212 Unlike other NI-A. languages which have the direct base serving for the Vocative all dialects of Konkani use the oblique case for the same. The obvious reason appears to be the lengthened oblique base : *phal-a* : *phal-ā mān-a* : *mān* (*n*)-*e*, *mātt-i* : *māt-ye*, *hāt-u* : *hāt* (*t*)-*ū*, *sūn-ē* : *sūn-yā*, *ghoṭ-o* : *ghoṭ-yā*, etc. conserving to some extent the *pluta* character of the final vowel (see Pāṇini viii. 2. 24 : *dūrūd-d-hūte ca*). Now whereas the *pluta* is to be recognised by its predominant length, and all Konkani dialects have preserved this more in the oblique base than in the direct, the influence of the original *pluta* should be seen in all vocative formations ; analogical disturbance of other classes of nouns by the -*a* class seems to be responsible for this state of affairs.

The examples of the voc. given by Father Stephens, *Grammatica*, §§ 58-62 all show similar characteristics. The plural of the voc. is obtained by adding -*no* to the oblique sing. : *manusū-no* (Stephens, § 58 : *mōnnussa-no*) ; this -*no* has become in s. gs. -*nū* or even -*ñū*, also in x.

Instrumental

§ 213. Professor Jules Bloch (in *La langue marathe* as well as *L'indo-aryen*) finds in the Marathi -*ē* the reduction of Sk. -*ena*, and he is supported by Professor R. L. Turner in his paper on the *Phonetic Weakness of Terminational Elements in Indo-Aryan* (JRAS, 1927, pp. 227-239). On the other hand Sir George Grierson's suggestion that it is due to the reduction of Apabhrāmī -*ahi* the loc. sg. termination deserves careful consideration. Professor Turner has made a good case for this special treatment, but in the case of -*n-* we have to face the difficulty of making an exceptional case where to which there is no parallel in the whole field of I-A. For the loss of occlusion of intervocalic aspirates or the change of -*m-* to -*ū-* or -*v* etc. we have parallels in the history of I-A. though under different circumstances, and thus we can speak with right of the phonetic weakness of terminational elements as in Vedic -*mahe* : Greek *metha*, etc. ; but what such phonetic weakness will do to -*n-* becomes purely hypothetical in as much as no illustration of such weakness is witnessed in the entire history of I-A. except the oft-quoted neut.

plurals of MI-A. $-\bar{a}\tilde{i}$, $-\tilde{i}\tilde{i}$ and $-\bar{u}\tilde{i}$: Sk. $-\bar{a}ni$, $-\bar{i}ni$ and $-\bar{u}ni$. This problem deserves to be studied carefully.

Whatever be the origin then of the instr. sing. in $-\tilde{e}$, whether the inst. $-ena$ of Sk. or the loc. $-ahī$ of Ap., traces of earlier I-A. formation are seen in Konkani, particularly in the pronominal bases $\bar{h}\bar{a}v\text{-}\tilde{e}$, $t\bar{u}\text{-}\bar{v}\tilde{e}$, $t\bar{a}n(n)\text{-}\tilde{e}$, $te\text{-}\bar{\eta}\tilde{e}$, $tin(n)\text{-}\tilde{e}$, etc.

The plur. under similar circumstances is in $-\tilde{i}$: $\bar{a}m'(m)\text{-}\tilde{i}$, $tum(m)\text{-}\tilde{i}$, $t\bar{a}n(n)\text{-}\tilde{i}$, etc. This termination $-\tilde{i}$ is to be traced to MI-A. $-ehim$.

Locative

§ 214 Sk. $-e$ appears as $-i$ in certain Konkani forms: s. gs. $-gēri$: *ghari* (cf. Fr. Stephens, *Grammatica*, § 68: *tache ghōri putru nāsilo*, or in our system *tāce ghari putru nāsilo*). Another example quotable from Fr. Stephen's work is (§ 66) *bōrie vēli cilo*, i. e. *barye vēli ātlo*; here *vēli* represents an analogical formation to *gēri* quoted above, for *vēl-u* is masc. in Konkani. Other forms seen in this grammar are: *sōcalli* (i. e. *sakāli*, s. gs. *sakālī*) and *tōttaqi* (i. e. *taṭaki*). The *i* or \tilde{i} in *sakālī* is probably due to MI-A. *sakalliyam*: Sk. *sakalyam*. But in s. gs. *kāli* (*kalyam*: *kalye*) and *phāyi* (Sk. *prabhāte*: MI-A. *pahāya-*) we have traces of the earlier loc. termination. Similarly in the adverbs *khai*, *thai* we have traces of MI-A. *khai*, *thai*.

A further case is connected with the postposition *lāg(g)i* from Sk. *lagna-*. In s. gs. *aśsi*, in this manner, *taśsi*, in that manner, *kaśsi*, in what manner, ns. *jaśsi*, in which manner (relative) the same phenomenon is seen.

Corresponding to this $-i$ or \tilde{i} there are certain forms ending in $-\bar{a}$ or $-\tilde{a}$: s. gs. *ghār-ā* in the house, = *gharā-nl(u)*; in the case of present participles used absolutely: *kariā kariā* while doing, etc. Here these participles are duplicated; when not duplicated we get forms of the type *kartān-ā* or *kartānā*, etc. This desinence is seen in the ablative *gharā thānu*, gs. *gharā thāk(k)unu* etc. "From within the house". Parallel to *khai*, *thai*, etc. we have s. gs. *hāngā* here, in this place, the final of which appears to belong to the same category.

Ablative

§ 215. The MI-A. termination $-\bar{a}o$, in the reduced form $-\bar{a}u$ is perhaps seen in the postposition s. *thāu-nu*, gs. *thāk(k)u-nu*

($<*\text{thāk}-\text{au}-\text{mu}$), but for a more probable explanation, see below, § 219.

Professor Bloch considers in his later work that the locative $-\tilde{a}$ is in reality of ablative origin despite the sense (*L' indo-aryen* p. 174), and thus gets out of the difficulty of explaining $-\tilde{a}$ from Skr. $-\text{ammi}$. The reduction of $-\tilde{a}$ to $-\tilde{a}$ does not offer any particular difficulty and the analogy with the instrumental gives the nasalisation (*ibid.* 174).

POSTPOSITIONS

§ 216. For a general treatment of these in Indo-Aryan see Bloch, *L' indo-aryen*, pp. 181–183. For Marathi see his *La langue marathe*, §§ 197–202 (pp. 195–207); for Awadhi, Baburam Saksena, *Evolution of Awadhi*, pp. 212–231.

There are two kinds of postpositions in Konkani: declinable and indeclinable. The genitive postpositions are declinable, but the rest are indeclinable.

Of the postpositions those of the instrumental are $-nē$ in sing., $-nī$ in plur.; that of the dative is $-ku$ or $-k$; for the ablative we have s. gs. *thānu*, *thāk(k)unu*, Old gx. *thānu* (Fr. Stephens: *tthaunu*, § 509); a special form is worth noting here, viz. combination of the genitive postposition $-čo$, $-ci$, $-cē$ with the instr. $-nē$: *khācyā-nē* (Stephens: § 513, *hangacheanū*) etc. for the normal ablative. The genitive postpositions are $-čo$, $-ci$, $-cē$, and $-gelo$. *gēli* $-gēlē$.

A few others which do not come under the above category are s. gs. *lāgqi*, *-khatira*, *-pāśi pesi* or *peksā*, *vairi* and its variants $-ēri$, $-ēr$, for the locative which is also formed by s. gs. $-āntu$ or $ānt$.

Postpositions of the Instrumental

sing. $-ne$, ($-nē$) plur. $-nī$

§ 217. The sing. $-ne$ also appears in the northern K. dialects as $-na$ or $-n$ (Fr. Stephens, § 63: *nō*, i. e. $-na$). See *La langue marathe*, § 201 (p. 203), for the different hypothesis regarding its origin none of which are very satisfactory or definitive. Perhaps the presence of *n* in $-ne$ and $-nī$ may also be due to Hyper-Sanskritisation, in opposition to the older $-\bar{e}$ and \bar{i} , and then extended to other NI-A. forms such as the dative in Gujarāti, etc.

Postpositions of the Dative

-ka (with pronouns -kā), -k

§ 218. In this particular instance the dialects of Konkani separate themselves from those of Marathi which have -si, -e, -te and -tā as the postpositions of the dative. K. dialects here show an analogy with Hindi which has -ko and with Awadhi (Saksena, p. 221) -ka, -kā, -kai, -kai, -kō and kē. The form appears to be derived from Sk. *kṛte* : *kṛ-tā*. With the different type of the nouns we get : *man-ā-k(a)*, *mān(n)-e-k(a)*, *māt(l)-ye-k(a)*, *kān(n)-ā ka* etc. from *man-a*, *mān-a*, *māt-i*, *kān-u*. In the case of the pronominal bases we have -kā : *mā-kā*, *tu-kā*, *ti-kā*, *te-kā* etc. This may be due to the syllabic quantity in the two cases, dissyllabic having -kā (*kṛta* : *kaa*) and polysyllabic having -ka or -k in the northern dialects.

Postposition of the Ablative

s. gs. *thā(k)unu*, x. ogx. *thāunu*, gs. ngs *sākunu*

§ 219. The gs. forms show a variant with geminated -k- : *thākkunu*, *sākkunu* in addition to forms with single -k-. The gs. forms with surviving -k- show affinity with Bengali *thake-yā*, *thāne*, while the Old gx. quoted by Fr. Stephens with the cerebral (*thānu*) has a parallel in OrIya *thū*, Beng. *thār*, *thārū*.

In addition to the form in -*thāunu* Father Stephens quotes (*hōunu*, § 523) *hōunu* which suggests the origin of -*thāunu*. Now *hōunu* is the absolute of the root "to be", and it is attached to the oblique form to give the ablative sense. On this analogy s. *thāunu*, ogx. *thāunu*, gs. ngs. *thā(k)unu* or *sāk(k)unu* is the absolute of an extended form of Skr. *sthū* : MI-A. *thakka-* or *thakka-*, giving us in K. *thāka-* or *thāku-*. What is surprising, however, is that in s. and x. dialects the intervocal -k- is already lost by the 16th century as witnessed by the record of Father Stephens, whereas it is retained in the gs. dialects. The change of *th-* to *s-* is characteristic, but we may have to seek its origin in Sk. *sak-* (*sak-no-ti* : Pa. *sakkoti*, MI-A. *sakka-*).

Postpositions of the Genitive

-cō, -cī, -cē; -gelo, -geli, -gelē; -lo, -li, -lē,

§ 220. All these postpositions are attested in Fr. Stephens work (§ 64) and characterise the genitive postpositions of Konkani from the earliest historical stage.

Regarding the origin of Marāthī *-cā*, *-cī*, and *-cē* Prof. Bloch (*La langue marathe*, § 208, p. 205) traces them to Hemacandra's rule II, 149 citing the Pk. forms *amheccaya-*, *tumheccaya-*. "ours" and "yours". He also discusses there the various suggestions of Grierson Konow, Bhandarkar, Hoernle, etc.

These postpositions are normally used with the oblique forms of the nouns: *ghar-ū-čo*, but we find in several instances a form like *ghar-čo*, with a nuance of meaning, the first representing "of the house" and the second "belonging to the household". The most satisfactory explanation of the form *-čo* would be from Sk. *-tya-ka*.¹ Forms like *ghar-čo* appear rather as abbreviations of *ghar-ā-čo* under the stress of its new meaning in actual pronunciation so far as Konkanī is concerned. Even the postposition is sometimes lost: *ghār-ā khāmbo* "the pillar of the house" in opposition to the *ghar-ā-čo khambō*. For an explanation of this in Marāthī and Rājasthānī see Bloch, *L'indo-aryen*, p. 183.

§ 221. The postposition *-gele-* is connected with Sk. *gata-* with the extension *-alla-* (Pk. *gaya-allā*, *gayalla*)*ka-*, in the sense of "pertaining to". All these genitive postpositions are really adjectives of appertinence ('French : l'adjective d'appartenance). Compare with this the Apabhramśa *-kera-a*, Pk. *keraka* (Buddhist Sk. *keraka*). The second series *-lo*, *-li* and *-lē* is considered by Prof. Bloch as only an abbreviation of the preceding (*La langue marathe*, § 200, p. 203).

Other Postpositions

§ 222. The form *-gēri* is used occasionally as a locative postposition: *ta-gēri*, *Rāmā-gēri* etc. See § 284 above for this form. These forms are sometimes expressed as *tāgelyā ghārā*, *Rāmalyā ghārā*, etc.

The form *-ānt(u)* is similarly used: *ghurānt(u)* (i. e. **ghar-ā-āntu*).

Most of these postpositions show their basic form: *khātīra*, *pāsi*, *lāygi*, etc.

Combinations of Postpositions

§ 223. The first to be mentioned here is the postposition

¹ Bloch favours the gerundive or absolute derivation from **-tyā* which is itself a contamination of *-tva* with **(-t)yā* or *-yā*.

-ēr(i) which is always used with the adjective of appertinence : *Rāmā-c-ēr(i)*, *maj-j-ēr(i)* etc. The variants of *-ēr(i)* are *vair(i)*, *ver(i)*, *-ār(i)* etc. in the different dialects of Konkanī deriving from Sk. *upari*, Pk. *uvari* or *uppiṁ*, Ap. **va^lri* or *vairi*. The sense of this combination may be expressed in English by the preposition "on "

The postposition *ānt(u)* is similarly used : *maj-j-yānt(u)*, *tuj-j-yānt(u)*, or with adjectives of appertinence : *magalyānt(u)*, *tugalyānt(u)*, etc.

In § 216 above we have given the combination of *-nē* with *-čo*. Similarly the postposition *-thānu* and its variants are used with the *-čo*.

The other postposition *lāggi*, *peksā*, *bhittari*, *bhāira*, which show their basic forms in the postpositional use, are similarly used with other postpositions which may or may not be actually present : *maj-j-e lāggi*, *tuj-j-e laggi*, or *mar-lāgi* (*māj-lagi* in the northern variety), *tur-lagi* (ns. *tuj-lagi*) etc.

thānu is used with the loc. postposition : *gharā-thānu* "from within the house ", *gharā bhittari thānu*. Combinations of this type may be multiplied indefinitely.

Certain of these postpositions are used substantively or adverbially as well as postpositionally : *gharā bhāira* " outside the house ", *gharā bhāira thānu* " from outside the house ". Notice also forms like *bhāir-cyā-nē* : *bhāilyā-nē*, *bhittar-cyā-nē* : *bhittar-lyā-nē*.

Similar adverbial postpositions are *mukhārī*, *mākṣi*, *bagleka*, *idrārī*, etc. Notice also s. gs. *sāngati* (cf. Awdhi *sāṅga*), *sōngā* "with, along" "in company of" etc.

Observe also forms like *gharānt(u)-lo*, *rān(n)ānt(u)-lo* etc. where the postposition *-ānt(u)* is combined with the gen. *-lo*.

These combinations bring out the characteristics of the genitive postpositions as forming adjectives of appertinence than anything else.

ADJECTIVES

§ 224. The adjectives of Konkanī, like the substantives, are derived from the corresponding PI-A. or MI-A. forms, simple or

enlarged. On the general nature of these in modern I-A. see Bloch, *L'indo-aryen*, pp. 183-189.

Examples of simple correspondence : s. gs. *sānu* (*ślakṣṇah*), *ūmca* (*uccaiḥ*), *čāngi* (*canga-*) etc.

Example of enlarged correspondence : s. gs. *bholo* (*bahula-kah*), *bholi* (*bahul-i-kā*), *bholē* (*bahula-kam*) etc.

Thus, like the substantives, the adjectives distinguish the three genders.

Accord

§ The accord between the substantive and the adjective qualifying it is absolute : *hōdu manusyn*, *hōdi bōila*, *hoda sūnē*. This is particularly true of the southern dialects where the final vowel of the word is preserved. In the formation of the oblique cases, however, the postpositions are applied only to the substantive when both are present : *sāni cerīlā* but *sān(n)a-* *cerd-ā-ka* etc. When the substantive is understood the postpositions are applied to the adjective : *hōlāngeli khabbari* "news of the great", *hodā -nē* "loudly", i. e. "with a loud voice" (*hōlā avājāne*) etc.

In several instances, however, the oblique of the adjective is not used with the oblique of the substantive : *hōdu manusyū* : *hodā manusyā-nē* etc. This appears to be due to the interplay of the different dialectical tendencies influencing each other, e. g. to the above correspond nx. gx. x. *hōl monis* : *hōl mons(y)āk* etc. In the plural also the corresponding form may not be seen, e. g. s. gs. *hodā manusya* : *hodā manusyā-ka*.

Degrees of Comparison

§ 226. Konkanī has no separate forms for the degrees of comparison of the adjective.

The Comparative is expressed by putting the compared standard in the oblique case followed by the postpositions *-kai* (x. *kī*) or *peksā*, *-paśi* etc. *maj-j-ā-kai tū čāngu* "you are better than myself"; *hāj-j-yā peksā* (or *peśī*, *peśī* etc.) *to čāngu* "he is better than this (fellow)".

Sometimes a second adjective is used, such as *čad-u*, *bho*, etc. to express the excess of the quality compared, or *-ūn-ē*, *kammi* etc. to express the deficiency, but to a pointed question about the compared standard the oblique with the postpositions mentioned above is absolutely essential for making the Comparative Degree.

§ 227. The Superlative is expressed by the words : *sagdā-kai* (or *-pekṣā*, *-pāśi*, *-peśi* etc.), *āśśilyānt(u)* meaning “(more than) all”, “among everything that exists” etc.

§ 228. In x. according to Father Maffei (*op. cit.* pp. 64-69) the postpositional elements used with the oblique for Comparative are : *prās*, *pārūs*, *vorn*, *ki*. Sometimes the qualifying adjective is itself qualified by a second adj. *adik* (Sk. *adhika-*). *prās* or *pārūs* is related to Sk. *para-* or *pra-*; *vorn* to Mar. *varūn* (Sk. *upari*).

Adjectives qualifying adjectives are also common to Konkanī for expressing, if not the degrees of comparison themselves, at least the actual extent of the particular quality suggested by the main adjective.

NUMERALS

§ 229. The following table gives the cardinals of some of the dialects of Konkanī.

No.	s. gs.	x. nx.	gx.
1	<i>ēka</i>	<i>yēk</i>	<i>yēk</i>
2	<i>dōni</i>	<i>dōn(i)</i>	<i>dōn</i>
3	<i>tīni</i>	<i>tīn</i>	<i>tīn</i>
4	<i>c(y)āri</i>	<i>cār</i>	<i>cīyār</i>
5	<i>pānčā</i>	<i>pānč</i> or <i>pānṄ</i>	<i>pānčā</i>
6	<i>sa</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>so</i>
7	<i>sāta</i>	<i>sāt</i>	<i>sāt</i>
8	<i>āṭa</i>	<i>āṭ</i>	<i>āṭh</i>
9	<i>navva</i> or <i>ṇavva</i>	<i>nōv</i>	<i>nav</i>
10	<i>dhā</i>	<i>dhā</i>	<i>dhā</i>
11	<i>ikrā</i>	<i>ikrā</i>	<i>yekrā</i>
12	<i>bārā</i>	<i>bārā</i>	<i>bārā</i>
13	<i>terā</i>	<i>terā</i>	<i>terā</i>
14	<i>čoudā</i>	<i>čoudā</i>	<i>čoudā</i>
15	<i>pandrā</i>	<i>pandrā</i>	<i>ponrā</i>
16	<i>solā</i>	<i>solā</i>	<i>solā</i>
17	<i>satrā</i>	<i>sotrā</i>	<i>sotrā</i>
18	<i>āṭhrā</i>	<i>oṭrā</i>	<i>oṭhrā</i>
19	<i>ikṇīsa</i> , <i>ekuṇīsa</i>	<i>ye'kuṇīs</i>	<i>yekuṇīs</i>
20	<i>visa</i>	<i>vis</i>	<i>vis</i>
21	<i>ekvīsa</i>	<i>yēkvīs</i>	<i>yēkvīs</i>
22	<i>bāvīsa</i>	<i>bāvīs</i>	<i>bāvīs</i>

No.	s. gs.	x. nx.	gx.
23	<i>tevīsa</i> or <i>trevīsa</i>	<i>tevīs</i>	<i>tevīs</i>
24	<i>cōvīsa</i>	<i>cōvīs</i>	<i>cōvīs</i>
25	<i>pañcvīsa</i>	<i>poncīs</i> or <i>ponceīs</i>	<i>poncīs</i>
26	<i>sa(v)vīsa</i>	<i>sovīs</i>	<i>sovīs</i>
27	<i>satāvīsa</i>	<i>sōtlāvīs</i>	<i>sōtāvīs</i>
28	<i>āttāvīsa</i>	<i>ōtlāvīs</i>	<i>āttāvīs</i>
29	<i>ekūnīsa</i>	<i>yēkuṇetīs</i>	<i>yēkuṇlīs</i>
30	<i>fīsa</i>	<i>īs</i>	<i>īs</i>
31	<i>eklīsa</i>	<i>yēktīs</i>	<i>yēklīs</i>
32	<i>bātīsa</i>	<i>bottīs</i>	<i>bōtīs</i>
33	<i>tellīsa</i>	<i>tettīs</i>	<i>tētīs</i>
34	<i>čouīsa</i>	<i>čoutīs</i>	<i>čouīs</i>
35	<i>pānlīsa</i> (ns. <i>pāctīsa</i>	<i>pānlīs</i>	<i>poncīs</i>
36	<i>sattīsa</i>	<i>sottīs</i>	<i>śetīs</i>
37	<i>sāttīsa</i>	<i>sāttīs</i>	<i>sātīs</i>
38	<i>ātl(h)īsa</i>	<i>ātlīs</i>	<i>ātlūīs</i>
39	<i>ekuṇcālīsa</i>	<i>yēkuṇecālīs</i>	<i>yekuṇcālīs</i> or <i>yekuṇcālīl</i>
40	<i>c(y)ālīsa</i>	<i>cālīs</i>	<i>cālīs</i> or <i>cālīl</i>
41	<i>ekkecālīsa</i>	<i>yēkecālīs</i>	<i>yēkecālīl</i>
42	<i>bāvecālīsa</i>	<i>bāvecālīs</i>	<i>bāvecālīl</i>
43	<i>l(r)cvecālīsa</i>	<i>te(ve)cālīs</i>	<i>terecālīl</i>
44	<i>čocecālīsa</i>	<i>čovecālīs</i>	<i>cōvecālīl</i>
45	<i>pañcvecālīsa</i>	<i>poncvecālīs</i> or <i>pāncvecālīs</i>	<i>poncecālīl</i>
46	<i>savecālīsa</i>	<i>sovecālīsa</i>	<i>sovecālīl</i>
47	<i>sattēcālīsa</i>	<i>sottecālīs</i>	<i>sottecālīl</i>
48	<i>astecālīsa</i>	<i>astecālīs</i>	<i>āstecālīl</i>
49	<i>ekuṇpannās</i>	<i>yēkuṇponnās</i>	<i>yekuṇponnās</i>
50	<i>pannās</i>	<i>ponnās</i>	<i>ponnās</i>
51	<i>ekkāvanna</i>	<i>yekpon</i> or <i>yekāōn</i>	<i>yēkāvōn</i>
52	<i>bāvanna</i>	<i>bāōn</i> or <i>bāupon</i>	<i>bāvōn</i>
53	<i>trepannā</i>	<i>tevepon</i>	<i>trepon</i>
54	<i>čoupanna</i>	<i>čoupon</i>	<i>čoupon</i>
55	<i>pañcāvanna</i>	<i>pāñcāvōn</i>	<i>poncāvōn</i>
56	<i>chappanna</i>	<i>soupon</i>	<i>sopon</i>
57	<i>sattāvanna</i>	<i>sōtlāvōn</i>	<i>sōlāvōn</i>
58	<i>āttāvanna</i>	<i>ōtlāvōn</i>	<i>āttāvōn</i>
59	<i>ekūnsātī</i>	<i>yēkuṇsātī</i>	<i>yēkuṇsātī</i>
60	<i>sātī</i>	<i>sāt</i>	<i>sāt</i>
61	<i>eksaṣṭī</i>	<i>yekṣoṣṭ</i>	<i>yekṣoṣṭ</i>
62	<i>besaṣṭī</i>	<i>besoṣṭ</i> or <i>byāṣoṣṭ</i>	<i>bōṣoṣṭ</i>

No.	s. gs.	x. nx.	gx.
63	<i>tresasti</i>	<i>tre-</i> ^o or <i>tryā-suṣṭ</i>	<i>tresōt</i>
64	<i>cousasti</i>	<i>cousoṣṭ</i>	<i>čousōt</i>
65	<i>pāñcasasti</i>	<i>pāñsoṣṭ</i>	<i>pōñsoṭ</i>
66	<i>chesasti</i>	<i>sousoṣṭ</i>	<i>sūsōt</i>
67	<i>sātsasti</i>	<i>sātauṣṭ</i>	<i>sātsōt</i>
68	<i>ātsasti</i>	<i>ātsoṣṭ</i>	<i>āthsōt</i>
69	<i>ekuṇsattari</i>	<i>yēkuṇesōt̄or</i>	<i>yekunāsotor</i>
70	<i>sattari</i>	<i>sūt̄or</i>	<i>sōt̄on</i>
71	<i>yeksattari</i> or <i>ekyāstari</i>	<i>yeksōt̄.ōr</i>	<i>yēk̄tsōt̄or</i>
72	<i>byāstari</i>	<i>byāsōt̄or</i>	<i>būsōt̄or</i>
73	<i>tryāstari</i>	<i>tryāsōt̄or</i>	<i>tryāsōt̄or</i>
74	<i>courāstari</i>	<i>couryāsōt̄or</i>	<i>čourāsōt̄or</i>
75	<i>pañcāstari</i>	<i>poñcoṣṭōr</i>	<i>poñcāsōt̄or</i>
76	<i>syāstari</i>	<i>syāsōt̄or</i>	<i>sāsōt̄or</i>
77	<i>satyāstari</i>	<i>suvāsōt̄or</i> or <i>saltyāsōt̄or</i>	<i>sulāsōt̄or</i>
78	<i>aṭhyāstari</i>	<i>aṭtyāsōt̄or</i>	<i>āṭhāsōt̄or</i>
79	<i>ekuṇaīśī</i>	<i>yēkuṇe-oīśī</i>	<i>yekunāśī</i>
80	<i>aīśī</i>	<i>oīśī</i>	<i>aissī</i>
81	<i>ekkyāīśī</i>	<i>yēkk̄yaū-oīśī</i>	<i>yekāśī</i>
82	<i>byā(a)īśī</i>	<i>byā(i)īśī</i>	<i>bāssi</i>
83	<i>tryā(a)īśī</i>	<i>t(r)yāīśī</i>	<i>tryāssī</i>
84	<i>couryāīśī</i>	<i>čovēoīśī</i>	<i>čourūssī</i>
85	<i>pañcyā(a)īśī</i>	<i>poñcēveoīśī</i>	<i>poñcāssī</i>
86	<i>seāīśī</i>	<i>so-oīśī</i>	<i>sāssi</i>
87	<i>saltyāīśī</i>	<i>sōl/yāoīśī</i>	<i>sōtāssi</i>
88	<i>aṭhāīśī</i>	<i>āṭtyā-oīśī</i>	<i>otthāssī</i>
89	<i>ekūṇnavvada</i>	<i>yēkuṇenōvōd</i>	<i>yēkuṇuṇōi</i>
90	<i>navvada</i> or <i>nav-</i> <i>vada</i> or <i>navvī</i>	<i>nōvod</i>	<i>nōi</i>
91	<i>ekyāṇavvī</i>	<i>yēkanōvōd</i>	<i>yekāṇōi</i>
92	<i>byānavvī</i>	<i>byā-nōvōd</i> , °-nōi	<i>bānōi</i>
93	<i>tryānavvī</i>	<i>tryānovoi</i>	<i>tryānōi</i>
94	<i>couryāṇavvī</i>	<i>čovyānōvōi</i>	<i>čourānōi</i>
95	<i>pañcyāṇavvī</i>	<i>pāñcānōvōi</i>	<i>pōñcōnōi</i>
96	<i>śenṇavvī</i>	<i>sōvānōvōi</i>	<i>sānōi</i>
97	<i>sūtlāṇavvī</i>	<i>sōtlānōvōi</i>	<i>sūtlānōi</i>
98	<i>aṭhāṇavvī</i>	<i>āṭtyānōvōi</i>	<i>āṭhānōi</i>
99	<i>navvyanṇavvī</i>	<i>novānōi</i> or <i>yēkuṇesembhor</i>	<i>novānōi</i>
100	<i>śemb(h)arī</i>	<i>sembōr</i>	<i>śembōr</i>

No.	s. gs.	n. nx.	gx.
200	<i>donsī</i>	<i>donsī</i>	<i>donsī</i>
300	<i>tinsī</i>	<i>tinsi</i>	<i>tinsi</i>
1000	<i>hajāra</i>	<i>hūjār or sās</i>	<i>sōsrō or hōjāru</i>
10000	<i>lakṣa</i> or ns. <i>lāka</i>	<i>lāk</i>	<i>lakhya</i>

N. B. For x. I have taken the forms with a slightly modernized transcription from Father Maffei's *Grammar*, and for nx. from the Appendix to Father Stephen's *Arte da linga Canarin* -2nd. ed. p. 175 et seq.

§ 230. As in Marāṭhi the numerals for "one" to "four" are included among the adjective and so declined. They are used both in the direct as well as oblique cases. But in so doing they get an extended form in -ga: *do-ga*, *ti-ga*, *čou-ga*, and for "one" the extension in -lo: *ek-lo*, *-li*.

§ 231. s. gs. *ēku*, *ēki*, *ēka*, x. nx. gx. *yēk*, Sk. *eka*, Pk. *ēkkā-ēga-*, *ēa*, the last losing its characteristic consonant, which explains the more common form *ekka-* from which all NI-A. languages have derived their forms. The *y-* in the Christian dialects is due to prothesis. The characteristic *e-* beginning of OI-A. and MI-A. is preserved in Konkāni *ikrā* in the reduced form *i-*, in opposition to Mar. *akrā*.

§ 232. s. gs. *dōni*, x. nx. gx. g. *dōn*: Sk. *dvi-* in MI-A. *donni* (on the analogy of Sk. *tri-*: MI-A. *tiṇṇi*). The *-o-* of this numeral is due to palatalization in the Sk. form *dvau*. On the other hand Sk. *dvā-* in composition has given rise to NI-A. *bā-*: K. *bārā*, Ap. *bārha*, Sk. *dvā-dāśa*.

For "one and a half" we have s. gs. *dēdu*, *dēdi*, x. nx. gx. g. *dēd*: Sk. *dvy-* *ardha*, MI-A. *di* (*y/v)addha*.

Remarkable enough is the form *bi* (Sk. *dvitiyā* : MI-A. *biyā*) for the "second day of the lunar fortnight".

§ 233. s. gs. *tini*, x. nx. gx. g. *tīn*: Sk. *trīṇi*, MI-A. *tiṇṇi*. In the numeral for "thirteen" Sk. *trayo-dāśa* we get Konk. *te-* from Sk. *traya-*, and so on for the higher numbers with the unit "three". With "fortythree" onwards we get the Sanskritised form *tre-* by the side of *ts-*.

For "two and a half" we have s. gs. *addeča*, x. gx. nx. *odeč* or even *odej* from Sk. *ardha-**tṛtya (*tr-tiya*) : MI-A. *addhā-icca*.

§ 234. s. gs. *c(y)āri* x. gx. nx. g. *cār* point to a MI-A. form like *ca(y)āri* or PI-A. **catāri*. On the difficulty of this form from Sk. *catvāri* : Pk. *cattāri* see *La langue marathe*, § 216, pp. 216-17. Ordinarily Konkani should have corresponded with the dento-alveolar affricate č- to Sk. c- followed by a back-vowel, but in this case as well as in *cālis(a)* we get the palato-alveolar c-. On the other hand the dento-alveolar is seen in *čoudā*, and in *čou-* as the unit in higher numerals, regularly derived from Sk. *catur-*.

§ 235. In the forms *do-ga*, *ti-ga*, *čuo-ga*, x. *dog*, *tig*, *čoug* masc., *dōgi*, *tīgi* and *čougi* fem. the -ga corresponds to Mar. -gha as in *do-ghe*, *dō-ghī*, *do-ghē*. This shows that the ur-form is -**ggha-a* in MI-A. which may possibly go back to Sk. -*graha-*: MI-A. -(g)galā-, -(g)gha-a; compare for instance Sk. *tri-graha* "extending to (the length of) three." The aspiration shifting the initial syllable in Sk. *grah-* as found in Pk. *gheppai* is characteristic of its derivatives in Marāthī and Konkani, the latter, however, losing it if the aspiration occurs non-initially.

§ 236. In s. gs. there is a second addition to the forms quoted above: -*jana*. Thus we have *dog-jana*, *teg-jana*, *čoug-jīna* etc. meaning "two, three, four." This can also be added on to the other numerals: *pāñčā-jana*, *sa-jana*, etc.

§ 237. s. gs. *pāñča*, x. *pāñč*, *pāñj*, nx. gx. *pāñč* : Sk. *pañca*. The x. form *pāñj* reminds us of the N-W. forms like Panjabi *pañj*. It is interesting to note that whereas in the numeral for "five" we have the regular Konkani development from the Sk. group short vowel + nasal + consonant, viz. the long vowel (nasalized or not) + nasal + consonant, in the numbers form "fifteen" onwards the word in composition is *pañč* (x. nx. gx. *pōñč*) or *pan-* (x. gx. *pōn-*).

In the numeral for "fifteen" as in "fifty" the Sk. *pañca* has undergone special development: s. gs. *pandrū*, x. *pōndrū*, gx. *pōnrū*, and s. gs. *pannūsa*, x. *pōnūs*, gx. *pōnas*. See § 217, p. 217 of *La langue marathe*.

§ 238. For "three and a half" s. ns. g. etc. show a form *aūṭa* going back to Sk. *ardha-**tūrtha, MI-A. *addha-uttha*, Ap. *addh-uttha-*, *āhutta*, corresponding to Mar. *aūṭ* and Guj. *āṭhu*.

Numbers above this are formed by adding *sād(h)e-* to the in-

teger just below : *sāde-tīni* "three and a half", *sālē-cārī* "four and a half" etc.

§ 239. s. gs. *sa*, x. nx. gx. so : Sk. *ṣaṭ*, MI-A. *cha*. In "forty-six" we get s. gs. *savv-e-* and x. gx. *sōv-e* with *cāl(i)s*. The *-e-* appears to be Persian in origin. Cf. *ast-e-cāl(i)s* etc. In s. gs. *chapparna* the *cha-* is characteristic as in *chattīsa* "thirtysix, for which x. has *soupon* and gx. *sopon*, and x. *sottīs* and gx. *śetīs*.

The other forms having "six" in the unit place are more or less influenced by the corresponding Marāṭhi forms which may be referred to in *La langue marathe*, p. 218.

§ 240. The other numbers up to "nine" do not offer much difficulty. They are quite general to the whole I-A. group. Only in the case of "nine" we have both dental and cerebral forms : *navva*, *ṇavva*; cerebralisation here seems due to the fact that initial *n-* of *navva* is assimilated to the *-t(a)* of *āt(a)*. This also explains the double forms x. *nōi*, gx. nx. *nōi* for "Ninety".

§ 241. In the numerals for "ten" and above s. gs. *dhā* : Sk. *daśa* becomes *-raha* in Apabhramśa : *ekkāraha*, *bāraha* etc. giving us in Konkanī *-rā* : *ikrā*, *bārā* etc. Only in s. gs. *dasro* (Mar. *dasrā*) does the original *daśa* survive. In s. gs. *coudā* and *solā* the survival of *-d-* and *-l-* is due to MI-A. *-dd-* and *-d-* or *-l-*.

§ 242. To express numbers containing "nine" in the unit's place the form "less than one", e. g. s. gs. *ekūṇ* (in "nineteen" however *ikṇ- < ikūṇ-*), x. nx. gx. *yēkunē* : Sk. *ekona-*, is used with the multiples of "ten".

For the other numerals full etymology will be given in my *Comparative Glossary* with comparative notes. It is sufficient to note here that in the case of "seventy" *sattari*, we get in composition a form like *stari* : *byāstari*, etc. For x. *nōi*, gx. *ṇōi*, s. gs. *navvi* in addition to x. *noved*, g. gs. *navvada* we have to refer on the one hand to Mar. *navvad* and on the other to Panj. Hindi *navre*, Sindhi *nave*, Beng. *nabbai*, Oriya *nabe* etc.

§ 243. In the case of "thousand" we have both *sosro* or *haṄär* as borrowed from Persian (see Fr. Stephens, *op. cit.* § 81 and Appendix p. 180).

Fractions of a quarter more or less are respectively expressed by s. gs. *savvī*, x. nx. gx. *sōvī* and s. gs. *pāūṇe*, x. gx. nx. *pāūṇ* added to the nearest integer, deriving from Sk. *sapāda-* and *pādonā-*.

Ordinals

§ 244. Beginning with the numeral for "five" Konkani forms its ordinals by the addition of the suffix *-vo*: *pāñc-vo*, *sāt-vo*, *at(h)-vo* etc. For the first four numerals, however, as in Sanskrit, we have different formations for the ordinals.

The origin of *-vo* is to be traced to Sk. *-ma ka*): *pañcama(ka)*-etc.

For the first four numbers we have the cardinals as follows: s. gs. *pailo*, *dusro*, *tisro*, *coutho*, x. nx. gx. *pōilō*, *dusrō*, *tisrō* etc.

s. gs. *pailo*, x. nx. gx. *pailo*, goes back to late MI-A. *pah-illa-ka*, OI-A. **prath-illaka* cf. Sk. *pratha-ma*. Besides these forms Konkani uses the word *surve-čo* n. nx. gx. *ād-lo*, etc. meaning "belonging to the beginning, first, foremost."

The words *du-sro*, *ti-sno* show a suffix in MI-A. *-*sara-a* (in flexion *-*sara-o*). In this connection reference may be made to Chatterji, *op. cit.* p. 700 and Saksena, *Evolution of Awadhi*, p. 156.

s. gs. *čou-tho* corresponds to Sk. *catur-tha-ka*.

PRONOUNS

§ 245. The history of the pronouns in any NI-A. language shows an interesting development, for here the phonetic weakness of the words is most marked, and in consequence new forms have to be introduced in order to make the meaning or intention of the speaker clear to the audience. Among the chief characteristics we may mention the preservation of the initial syllable intact, having relation to one or other of the OI-A. or MI-A. forms. The disintegration of the sound elements in these cases is characteristic of the frequency of employment.

Personal Pronouns.

§ 246. The personal pronouns of the first and second person show a considerable variety of forms in MI-A. In Konkani however, as in other NI-A. language, the forms show a simplicity of pattern, and are closely allied to nominal flexion.

First Person Pronoun

§ 247. The forms are :

sing.	plur.
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Direct s. gs. <i>hāv(a)</i> ,	s. gs. <i>āmī</i> , x. <i>āmī</i> , gx. <i>āmī</i>
x. <i>āū</i> , gx. <i>hāv(a)</i>	

Oblique s. gs. <i>mā</i> , x. x. <i>mā</i>	s. gs. x. gx. <i>ām</i>
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But the variety of forms we get for individual cases should be noted here.

For instru. we have s. gs. *hāvē*, x. *āvē*, in addition to *mājjāñē*, gx. (*Arte* § 106) *mājyāñ*, in the sing. and s. gs. and s. gs. *āmmī*, *ām-**cyāñē*, gx. *āmcyāñ*, in the plur.

For the genitive we have s. gs. *majjē* (gs. *mejjē*), n. nx. gx. *mojē*, *mojo* in the sing.

The dir. *hāv(a)* goes back to Sk. *ahakam* (already *hage i* Magadhi) and *āmmī* to Sk. *asmebhīḥ* : Pk. *amhehim*.

The instr. *hāv-ē* regularly corresponds to Sk. *ahakena*, i. e. as if *hāv* itself form the base from which the inst. in -ē is derived.

The gen. *majjē* corresponds to Sk. *mahyam*, Pk. *majjhām*, with the -ka- extension, used regularly in the genitive sense (see e. g. the form *mahyam pitā* in the *Mahābhārata*¹).

The extended form in *majjāñē*, *mājyāñ* follows regularly from the adjectival nature of the genitive form, which is really an adjective of appertinence. This applies equally to the plural form quoted above.

The postpositions are regularly applied as in the case of nouns, except in the case of forms quoted above. Thus *ām-kā*, *ām-cē*, *ām-gēr*, *ām-gelo* etc. in the plur. and *mā-kā*, *ma-gelo*, *ma-gēr* etc. in the last two of which the vowel of the oblique sing. is reduced. The postposition -ēr is applied to the gen. form *majje-* as *majjēri*, x. *mojēr*.

Second Person Pronoun

§ 248. The forms are.

	sing.	plur.
Direct	s. gs. <i>tū</i> , nx. x. gx. <i>tū</i>	s. gs. <i>tummi</i> , x. nx. gx. <i>tumi</i>
Oblique	s. gs. x. nx. gx. <i>tu</i>	s. gs. x. nx. gx. <i>tum</i> .

For the instr. corresponding to *hāvē* we have *tūvē* or *tūvē*, formed directly from the direct base.

For the gen. we have *tujjē* x. nx. gx. *tuje* in the sing. The extended instr. *tujjāñē*, or gx. *tujyāñ* is regularly formed from this base.

The direct *tū* goes back to Sk. *t(u)vām*, Pk. *tumām*, and the plur. *tummi* traces its origin to OI-A. **tuṣmebhīḥ*, MI-A. *tumhehim*.

The gen. form goes back regularly to MI-A. *tujjha-* based on the analogy of *majjha-*.

As in the above case of the first person pronoun, the postpositions are applied to the second person pronoun also, and similar inflected forms result.

(*To be continued*)

¹ I am indebted to Dr. V. S. Sukthankar for the reference below: Crit. Edn. 1. 47. 5 :

yathā tena pitā mahyam pūrvam dagdho viṣṭagnind
(v. l. *pitāsmākam*; *pitā me tu*)

THE ORIGINAL HOME OF THE ARYANS

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During the last hundred years many distinguished orientalists tried hard to find out the original home of the Aryans but without striking at the root of the question. The attempt to trace the Aryans from their earliest station in the arena of history leads us to a veritable labyrinth of complicated and intermingled cultures each with a long and intricate history of its own behind it. There is no single thread to guide us certainly out of the maze but rather a multitude of strands intertwined and entangled and leading along divergent paths.¹

The science of linguistic palaeontology

The science of linguistic palaeontology claims to reconstruct the environment of the still undivided Aryan people and to conjure up the image of their spiritual and material culture. The words and names which recur in Indo-European languages constitute in their totality the surviving vocabulary of the original Aryans. The sum of such corresponding terms would then depict the culture of the primitive people.

The 'Wiros'

Dr. Giles² uses the term 'Wiros' for the speakers of the Indo-European languages, this being the word for 'men' in the great majority of the languages. From words preserved in their languages particularly in languages far separated and in circumstances where there is little likelihood of borrowing from one language to the other, we may gather something as to their animals and plants they knew, and perhaps a very little as to their industries. The close similarity between the various

¹ I am much indebted to 'The Aryans' by V. Gordon Childe, London, 1926, from which I have often quoted in my article.

² The Cambridge History of India, Vol. 1, 1921. The Aryans by P. Giles. Litt. D, P. 65 et. seq.

7 [Annals, B. O. R. I.]

languages spoken by them would lead us to infer that they must have lived for long in a severely circumscribed area so that their peculiarities developed for many generations in common. Such a confined area must have been separated from the outer world either by great waters or by mountains. The climate in which they lived belonged to the temperate zone is shown by the nature of the trees which a comparision of their languages leads us to believe they knew. To their habitat we may assign with considerable certainty the oak, beech, willow and some coniferous trees. The birch seems to have been known to them and possibly the lime, less certainly the elm.

These 'Wiros' were in all probability not a nomad but a settled people. The useful animals best known to them were the ox, cow, sheep, horse, dog, pig and probably some species of deer. The ass, camel and the elephant were unknown to them in early times; and the great variety of words for the goat would lead us to suppose that this animal also was of later introduction. The 'Wiros' seem to have been familiar with corn. If so, they must in all probability have lived for a considerable part of the year in one situation. Of birds they knew the goose and the duck. The most familiar bird of prey was the eagle. The wolf and bear were known but not the lion or tiger.

No country, however, which had not much variety of geographical features could have been the habitat of both the horse and the cow. The horse is a native of the open plain; the foal is able to run by its mother from the first and accompanies her always in her wanderings. The calf on the other hand, is at first feeble, unable to walk or see its way distinctly, and therefore, is hidden by its mother in a brake, while she goes further afield to find suitable pastures.

According to Dr. Giles to fulfil all these conditions there is such an area which is bounded on its east by the Carpathians on its south by the Balkans, on its western side by the Austrian Alps and the Bohmer Wald and on the north by the Erzgebirge and the mountains which link them up with the Carpathians.

Philological data

The family is divided by a well marked difference in the treatment of certain k, g, and gh sounds in two parts, one of

which keeps the k, g, and gh sounds, though submitting them to a variety of changes in later times, while the other party changes k and g into some kind of sibilant sounds, which are represented in the Slavonic and Iranian languages by s and z, in Sanskrit by s and j. The gh sound appears as z in Zend, the Iranian dialects confusing together g and gh, while in Sanskrit it appears as h. They agree also on the whole in the case system of the noun, a system to which the Slav. and the Armenian languages offer the closest approximation, and in the elaborate mood and voice system of the verb, to which the only parallel is to be found in the similar, though not in all respects identical, paradigms of Greek. Here according to Dr. Giles the other languages except the Slavonic, fall far short of the elaborate and intricate verb system that the other tribes have lost a large part of their share of the common inheritance. A characteristic which distinguishes the languages of this stock in both Persia and India is the tendency to confuse r and l, a tendency which is characteristic of practically all the languages of the far east. In India r is often found in words where the languages of the same stock in Europe show l; l is also though not so frequently, found for r, in the old Persian or the Achaemenid inscriptions, l is found only in two foreign words and has otherwise been entirely replaced by r.

Dr. Giles criticised

Dr. Giles, the distinguished philologist makes no attempt to trace his 'wiros' with the aid of material remains. The Danubian was the creation of those early Mediterranean colonists who may early have been mixed with descendants of palæolithic tribes and influenced the east as well as the south. The Danubian manner of life does not really correspond very satisfactorily to the primitive Aryan culture deduced by linguistic palæontology. Dr. Giles attributes the art of agriculture and swine breeding in this area. But the absence of arrow heads or other weapons deserve notice. Again the cult of a mother goddess is an un-Aryan trait among the Danubian peasants.

Limitations of the Linguistic Palæontology

The sum of the surviving equations can only give a fragmentary picture of the complete life led by the Aryans. Through

migrations, intermingling with other races, commercial relations with alien civilisations and the autonomous local growth and specialisation of arts and cults, many words have been lost and replaced by others. Allowance must also be made for changes in the meaning of the word itself. Finally even strict compliance with the approximate phonetic laws is not an infallible test of descent from the parent speech. The possibility is always present that the word in question came into the several languages by borrowing after the separation of their speakers, but at a date so early that the sound-shifts had not yet become so operative. Moreover, too much attention is paid to names of plants and animals and to various words of material culture and practically none at all to the grammatical relationships between the languages themselves. The first great division of the Indo-European family is into the Satum and the Centum groups. This division corresponds, of course, roughly to the geographical division of the Asiatics and the Europeans.

Advanced civilisation of the Wiros

The European scholars seem to regard the Indo-European people as almost identical with the primitive savage tribes of Europe. Even from the material side i. e. by considering only the 'culture words' common to the Indo-European languages we find that these people were distinctly a superior and more advanced people. But a far more valuable evidence of their culture is afforded by a consideration of the grammar of the parent Indo-European languages. The wealth of forms, the subtle distinction made in the various forms of verbs, the very numerous prepositions which all existed before the separation of the branches clearly indicate a very high intellectual development. Moreover, they certainly had the numerals upto 100 and probably upto 1000, they had developed the decimal system of numeration.

Saptasindhu and Semirechinsk

Prof. Chattpadhyaya¹ relying on the Indra-Vṛtra myth supports H. Brunhöfer who suggests the name of such a possible earlier home of the Indo-Aryans. The Indra-Vṛtra myth in short

¹ Proceedings and Transactions of the Sixth All India Oriental Conference, Patna, 1930, The Cradle of the Indra-Vṛtra Myth, by K. Chattpadhyaya, p. 529 et. seq.

is as follows. The enemy (*Vṛtra*) steals away the cows (-waters) and keeps them concealed in the cave Vala (-*Vara*, an enclosure from *Vṛ* to surround). Indra attacks him with the Maruts (the storms) and other helpers, chases him from rock to rock (i. e. from cloud to cloud), finds him at last and kills him. The covering stone of the Vala is also shattered and the waters are released and with eagerness they go the way of the ocean. The Rgveda describes in a very charming tone the victory of Indra as ' letting the rivers or more specially the Seven Rivers to flow '. According to Durgācārya the commentator of the Nirukta these are the seven atmospheric streams namely Bahulā, Aśvā, Titutrā, Abhrayanti, Meghapatni Varsayanti and Arundhā. The Saptasindhu and the Hapta Hindu are described in very affectionate terms in the ancient Indian and Iranian literatures respectively. Sāyana would explain the Saptasindhu as the seven rivers beginning with the Ganges. Prof. Chattopadhyaya finds fault with him thinking that Sāyana is referring to the Ganges, Yamunā, Godāvari, Sarasvatī, Narmadā, Sindhu and Kāverī for four of the above rivers are of later growth and suggests Semirechinsk in Russian Turkestan watered by the Ili, Lepsa, Karatal, Baskan, Aksu, Sarakan and Biyen—the seven rivers which flow into the Lake Balkash. Semirechinsk the name of the province means, ' the land of the Seven Rivers '. Of these rivers some of them do dry before the rains. According to him a period of unusual drought (3000 B. C. to 2000 B. C.) led the Aryans or some of them to leave the lands and march towards India and also towards Iran. If the original home of the Indo-Europeans was in Siberia, as De Morgan would have us believe, Semirechinsk would be on the way to India and Iran. But according to Dr. Giles the southern stoppes of Russia, though possessing a very fertile soil, has not on the whole the characteristics which the words common to the various Indo-Germanic languages and at the same time unborrowed from one to another postulate.

The various centres

Western Orientalists like Tomascheck, Von Loher, Cuno, Linden, Schimdt, Penka, and Posche ascribe this honour to Eastern Europe, Germany, Central Europe, Northern Europe, Scandinavia, and the Rokitno Swamp respectively holding the

archaic character of the neighbouring Lithunian Language, that the Lithunians were the surviving relic of the oldest Aryan race. According to Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala¹ the various centres indicated by the various scholars were the sub-centres making the various halts during the wanderings of various branches on their way to their homes in historical times. The first division of the Indo-European languages into the Satam and the Centum groups marks the two lines of migration one towards Asia and the other towards Europe. The former was first stopped from further progress southwards by the great sea in Central Asia., and slowly one branch moved off westwards upto the bank of the Volga, which forms the sub-centre of Scrader. Since the Huns invaded Europe from Central Asia and settled themselves in Hungary (Hūnagr̥ha—the abode of the Huns) some of the European Scholars thought wrongly that India also must have been invaded by the inhabitants of Central Asia at some remote date. Moreover in the opinion of Dr. Giles Central Asia is not probable, even if we admit that its conspicuous lack of water and consequent sterility in many areas is of later development. In the northern plains of Europe, there is no area which will satisfactorily fulfil the conditions. As we know it in primitive times it is a land of great forest.

North Pole

Lokamanya Bal Gangadhara Tilak², the great politician and the antiquarian, finding references to the cold regions of the north and the river Kubhā in the Rgveda concluded that the scene of the human creation was the North Pole. But Tilak for his scientific argument relied on Crolls' theory of Ice-Age which has now been definitely disproved.

Caucasus

The claim of Caucasus falls too flat for it was so inhospitable that Aeschylus³ selected it as the place of torment for Prometheus and tells us that it was a pathless wilderness.

¹ Ibid, The Indo-European Homeland, a Restatement of the question, by Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala, p. 635 et. seq.

² The Arctic Home in the Vedas by Lokamanya Bal Gangadhara Tilak, Poona 1925.

³ The Tragedies of Aeschylus, literally translated by T. A. Buckley, London, 1859, Prometheus Chained, pp. 1-35.

Mitani

The recent discovery of Vaidika deities in an inscription,¹ found at Boghazkeui, which relates to the treaty between subbiliumma a Hittite King and Mattiuaza a King of Mitani, (northern Mesopotamia), has led some to put the original cradle of Indo-Europeans somewhere in Upper Mesopotamia. The gods named are Mitra, Varuna, Indra, and Nāsatyas (Aśvins). The names of the gods might not be significant singly but the four combined give cumulative evidence of Indian origin that can not be explained away. The inscriptions date from about 1400 B. C. and the names appear not in the form which they take in the historical records of ancient Persia, but so far as writing in a syllabary will admit, are identical with the forms, admittedly more original, which they show in the hymns of the Rgveda. The names of the Hittite kings do not look in the least Aryan. Moreover, no Hittite deities have Aryan names. So we may conclude that the migrants kept the names of their gods correctly, but kings naturally modified their own names as they and their languages became more separated from India.

Biblical theory

Now the holy scriptures being infallible, one naturally looks upon them with reverence if they can help us in locating the birth-place of mankind. The Muslims have no records except that of the Holy Bible² which asserts that the creation took place in a region where there flowed the four rivers Pison, Gibon, Hiddekal, and Euphrates. According to the Bible it was in Eden that Adam descended for the first time. In Hebrew it means delight.³ It is the first home of man, and the district in which the 'Garden of Paradise' was situated. There have been much discussion regarding the exact site of the place. Eden was the Sumerian name of the plain of Babylon. The accepted modern location appears to be El Qurnah in Iraq. The word Iraq literally means the delta land and the word Mesopotamia⁴ means the

¹ Journal Royal Asiatic Society, 1909, p. 723 et seq.

Ibid. 1907, pp. 913-21; Ibid, 1908, pp. 985-93, Ibid, 1909 pp. 963-80.

² Genesis, ch. II.

³ Hasting's Dictionary of the Bible, under 'Eden'.

⁴ A New English Dictionary, Vol. VI.

doab. It is not certain where the Pison flows. Some would identify it with the Nile but without any success, and others would consider it as lost in the Arabian sea. I have not succeeded in finding out its literal meaning. But the Gihon is the Ganges. The Hiddekel is the modern Dajala river which literally means ‘having pebbles’ and the Sanskrit word Drṣadvati bears the same meaning (drṣadah santyasyām sā). The Euphrates is the modern Alfarāt or the Farāt which in meaning exactly corresponds to the Sarasvatī of the R̄gveda ‘bursting or having flows’ (sarāṁsi santyasyām sā) and the Hairavati of the Avesta. According to the late lamented C. V. Vaidya¹ that there is no trace of Rasis and the Yugas in Vaidika literature or indeed in any Indian literature up to 100 B. C. is the surest proof that Indo-Aryans never came from Mesopotamia in Vaidika or post-Vaidika days. If the Vaidika Aryans had come from Mesopotamia they would not certainly have forgotten the buffalo. The R̄gveda does not mention the buffalo at all. They probably did not know it, as it is stated in the Purāṇas that the buffalo was a new creation of Viśvāmitra.

Avesta.

In the ancient Iranian literature we read “I, Ahuramazda, among the good lands and countries, did create first of all the land of Airyana Vaeja (the cradle land of the Aryas) on the bank of the Vehdati²”. The Pahlavi of Airyana Vaeja is Iran Vej (the beginning or the source of the Aryans). The phrase ‘Vanhuyao Daityayao’ of the good Daitya is always added in the Zend Avesta to the name of Airyana Vaejo. The first king Jamsed, the founder of the dynasty, is called in the Avesta Yima Khsaeta, Jamšed, the son of Vivanhana (—Sanskrit Vivasvān) and his descendants Yima Vivanhana, Yam of the family of Vivanhata. The Amarakośa also calls Yama, the Vaivasvat—the son of Vivasvān—the sun. The last king of this dynasty was murdered by Spityura (—Savitṛ perhaps) nicknamed Yimokerenta (—Yamakranta). Prof. H. S. Hodivala

¹ A History of Sanskrit Literature, by C. V. Vaidya, Poona, 1930, Vol. I, p. 221.

² Venidad, I. 1-3.

a distinguished Parsee scholar in his letter dated the 17th March 1939 kindly informs me as follows. 'The Airyana Vaejo is a land of which nothing is really known. The chapter in Venidad in which an account is given of the gradual colonisation of the earth or the universe is a legendary history of the creation and all sorts of hypothesis and theories have been advanced about the so-called Original Home of the Iranian people. The chapter itself has little or no connection with the rest of the contexts of the Venidad and it has probably been borrowed from some other 'Nask' and pitchforked here by some ancient compiler. The 'Vehdati' is really a middle Persian form of 'Vanhui Dauti' and some writers have identified it with the 'Arasas', just as the other river mentioned in this chapter the Raughā is supposed to be the Tigris. But these are only speculations of doubtful validity. Both these rivers have been regarded by other scholars as Rivers not belonging to our Earth but to Heaven - two Ganges so to say - which really belong, not to terrestrial but to celestial geography.' According to J. D. Nadershah¹ the territory of Airyana Vaejo was in the neighbourhood of Mazandran and Gilan, and not far from Babylonia. It stretched northwards as far as the Caucasus of which a considerable portion is always clad with ice and snow and latterly Airyana Vaejo was called Media. Airyana Vaejo may be a corruption of the Sanskrit Arya-Bija or Arya-Vraja which is nearer to it. Mazandrana is the Persian for an obsolete Avestan word Mazindrana (Mahindra or Mahendra in Sanskrit) the country of the great Indra. According to him the Devas of Mazandran (Mazainya Daevas) could not long hold their own against the inroads of the Asuras and, therefore, migrated to India; and so the birth-place of the primitive Aryans lay to the south eastern foot of the Caucasus-Mazandran the ancient home of the Vaidika Brähmanas.

Iranians and Indians belong to the same region

We know that Deva in Sanskrit signified 'shining', 'illustrious', and hence 'a god among men, a deity' but in the Avesta it means a 'demon'; and like the deva, the Avestan Ahura also indicates a king. In the oldest part of the Rgveda the

¹ Critical Studies of some Zoroastrian Problems, by Ervad J. D. Nader-shah, Bombay, 1938, Airyana Vaejo, p. 58 et. seq.

term asura is used for the supreme spirit and in the sense of 'good', 'divine'; it was applied to several of the chief deities such as Indra, Agni, and Varuṇa. It meant 'giver of life' or 'adorable' (*asūn rāti*). This sense is no doubt a survival from those times when the Iranian and the Indian Aryans were one people and lived together amicably. It afterwards acquired an entirely opposite meaning and came to signify 'a demon', or 'an enemy of the gods'. So it is not surprising that Deva is not used in its primitive good sense anywhere in the Zend Avesta, as the whole of it was composed at a time when there was very bitter hatred between the Devas and the Asuras. An Asura is called Kratura—an enemy of sacrifices, Kratudviṣa—hating sacrifices. The Iranians also were sacrifice-lovers and held unshakable faith in the God Fire (*Ātaśa*) which is highly revered by the Indians as well. But some did not see the necessity of worshipping the fire, or performing the Soma sacrifice in honour of Indra: While others regarded fire too sacred to be polluted by the offerings of the flesh of sacrificial animals. This gave rise to schisms, dissensions, religious intolerance, and active hostility resulting in terrible bloodshed. Hence they separated themselves from their brethren the Indians who stuck themselves to Indra, who is later on despised in the ancient Iranian literature. Zoroaster probably reformed the old Aryan religion by prohibiting animal sacrifice or the throwing of any oblations into sacred fire as Christ stopped animal sacrifice among the Jews.

Explicit reliance on Vedas undesirable

According to Pargiter,¹ the ancient Indian history has been fashioned out of compositions which are purely religious and priestly, which notoriously do not deal with history and which totally lack the historical sense. This statement of the learned orientalist is liable to modification for it is worded in very strong terms. As a matter of fact the Śrutis are proofs in themselves and their statements are verified by the other sources as well and it is, therefore, that they command our respects.

¹ Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, by F. E. Pargiter, London, 1922, preface.

Certainly the *Mahābhārata*¹ does assert that one should ascertain the meaning of the Vedas with the help of the history and the *Purāṇa*.

Aila-outflow

According to him² what we call the Aryan race, is what Indian tradition calls the Aila race, and so Aila-Ārya. By far the greater part of ancient Indian historical tradition deals with the doings of the Aila stock, its growth and expansion. Tradition asserts that the Ailas or the Aryans began at Allahabad, conquered and spread out north-west, west and south. Indian tradition knows nothing of any Aryan invasion of India from Afghanistan, nor of any gradual advance from thence eastward. On the other hand it distinctly asserts that there was an Aila outflow of the Druhyus³ through the north-west into the countries beyond, where they found various kingdoms. The Rgveda is silent about the banyan, salt, and about the Pāriyātra hills (the Aravalli range), which the Aryans had actually reached according to the current theory. The bulk of the Rgveda was composed in the great development of Brahmanism that arose under the successors of king Bharata who reigned in the upper Ganges-Yamunā doab and plain. The language of the Rgveda, as Sir George Grierson holds, represents the archaic dialect of the upper doab and that was the region in which the Aryan speech was the purest and whence it spread outwards.

Ilāvṛta

The north-west frontier never had any sacred memories and was never regarded with reverence. And the tradition directly indicates that the Ailas entered India from the mid-Himalayan region Ilāvṛta in the north from where they came. Purūravas' name Aila occurs in the Rgveda.

¹ इतिहासपुराणाभ्यां वेदं समुपचृद्यते Mbh. I. I. 265.

² A. I. H. T., by Pargiter, p. 292, et. seq.

³ प्रचेतसः पुत्रशतं राजानः सर्व एव ते ।

प्लेन्छराष्ट्राधिपाः सर्वे सुदीर्चों दिशमाश्रिताः ॥

Iranians an offshoot

Now Druhyu's descendants are said to have been Bhojas¹ and the sun-worshipping priests were called Bhojakas. Hence the Iranians may have been an offshoot from India for the outspread from India cannot only account for existence of gods with Indian names and kings with Iranian like names, but may also have led to the genesis of the Iranians.

Aila-Adam

Now Aila can in no case be taken for the Arya where there is not the least resemblance. As a matter of fact Aila is just the equivalent for the Persian word Adam which means 'born of the earth' adam meaning the earth. Aila is from ilā the earth in Sanskrit. The Rgveda may have been composed near Prayāga in the middle-country but the Aryans could not have come from the north of the ice-abode, for geographically the transit across the Himalaya would offer severe obstacles.

Aryans were agriculturists

In the opinion of the European scholars since the Aryans were shepherds and they lived by tending cows, sheep goats they must be inhabitants of some extensive plateaux. Sri A. Somayasomayujulu² supposing the Aryans to be nomads regards them inhabitants of the South Indian plateaux. But according to the Rgveda the oldest extant literature of the world the Aryans were no nomads. Moreover the cows and the oxen unlike the sheep are not fit for nomadic life. There are many hymns in the Samhitā in praise of agriculture³ and hence it may be said that the Aryans were agriculturists rather than pastoral.

Aryans did not come from abroad

There is no allusion or veiled reference in any of the Vedas Smṛtis or the Purānas or any ancient Sanskrit text that the

¹ यदोस्तु यादवा जातास्तुर्वसोर्यवनाः स्मृताः ।

द्रुस्योः सुतास्तु वै भोजा अनोस्तु म्लेच्छजातयः ॥

² *The Ancient History of India*, by A. Somayasomayujulu, Vizigapattam, 1935, introduction,

³ *Sarasvati Bhavana Studies*, Benares, Vol. X, Agriculture in the Rgveda, by Prof. S. N. Jharkhandi.

Aryans came from abroad. We shall try to see if the ancient literatures of India can help us to locate exactly the cradle of mankind.

Inference from six seasons

The six seasons are named in the Atharvaveda¹ and they are expressed in the Rgveda.² Nowhere but in the Punjab one experiences the six seasons fully. It is simply impossible even to think of them at the North Pole. Moreover the Rgveda mentions the Great Himalayan mountain³ and the Śatapatha-Brahmana calls it the 'northern mountain'.⁴ If the Aryans were inhabitants of the northern region, they would not have called the Himalaya 'the northern mountain'. Hence it is clear that they lived in a region south of the Himalaya.

Aryāvarta

According to some critics it may be that the Aryans when the Vedas, Brāhmaṇas, and Smṛtis were composed, might be living in a region south of the Himalaya, but it cannot be accepted on these evidences that before their composition the Aryans were not outside India. But we know that almost all the scholars

¹ Atharvaveda, XII, I, 36.

रीष्मस्ते भूमे वर्षाणि शरद् हेमन्तः शिशिरो वसन्तः ।

ऋतवस्ते निहिता हायनीरट्टोशत्रे पृथिवि नो दुहाताप् ॥

² Rv. I, 164. 12.

पञ्चपादं पितरं द्वादशाकृतिं दिव आहुः परे अर्धे पुरीषिणम् ।

अथेष्व अन्य उपरे विचक्षणं सप्तचक्रं पठर आहुरपितम् ॥

Here only five seasons are alluded, Śīśira and Hemanta being taken as one. But compare the following उतो स महामिन्दुभिः षड् युक्ताँ अनुसेष्ठित् । गोभिर्यवं न चक्षुषत् । Rv. I. 23. 15. याग्नेतुभिः सोमैः षड् युक्तान् षड् वसंतादीनृतन् गोभिर्यवं न चक्षुषत् वलीवद्दैः यथा यवमुद्दिश्य भूमिं प्रतिवत्सरं पुनः पुनः कृषति तद्वत् ।

Sāyaṇa's commentary clearly points to the six seasons.

³ Rv. X. 121. 4.

यस्येष्वे हिमवन्तो महिन्वा यस्य सप्तुद्रूं रसया सदाहुः ।

यस्येषाः प्रदिशो यस्य बाहू कस्मै देवाय हविषा विधेम ॥

⁴ Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, I. 8. 1. 5.

स यतिर्धीं तत्समां परिदिवेश ततिर्धीं समां नावमुग्कल्योपासां चक्रे स औघ-

उथिते नावमायेदेतं स मत्स्य उपन्यापुष्पवे तस्य शृङ्गे नावः पार्श्वं प्रतिमुमोच्च तेनैतमुत्तरं गिरिमतिदुद्राव ।

have relied on the authority of the Rgveda to locate the original home of the Aryans or the human race. The word Ārya¹ occurs in the Rgveda again and again. Moreover the very word Āryā-varta means the place where the 'Aryans are born again and again.'² Besides when it supports the geological evidences also, its statements can in no way be easily set aside, for there is no foundation upon which to build the palace.

Inference from the rivers

In the famous hymn of the Rgveda the seven rivers³ Ganges, Yamunā, Sarasvatī and others are named from east to north-west in regular order and not from the north-west to the east which must have been the case if the Aryans had come through the Khyber Pass. It also supports the well-known theory according to which 'travels always follow the sun's course from east to west.' In the above hymn the rivers are called my Ganges, my Yamunā and my Sarasvatī. No foreigner would ever address a river in such a familiar term unless he is mingled with it heart and soul. The Rgveda calls the scene of creation 'the vulva created by gods'⁴ and this is supported by the Manu which says 'the god created region between the godly created rivers Sarasvatī and Dr̄śadvatī (identified with the modern river Ghaggar lost in the desert) is called the Brahmapūrta.'⁵ The word

¹ Rv. IV. 26. 2 अहं भूमिसद्दामार्यायि

Rv. IV. 26. 2. अद्दामार्यायाऽहं वृष्टे

Rv. II. 11. 18. अपावृणोज्योतिरार्यायि

² Kullukabhaṭṭa's commentary on the Manusmṛti.

आर्या अत्रावर्तन्ते पुनः पुनरुद्धवन्तीर्यार्यावर्तः

³ Rv. X. 75. 5.

इमं मे गङ्गेऽयमुने सरस्वति शुशुद्धि स्नोमं सचता पृष्ठण्या ।

असिक्न्या महृद्वृथे वितस्तयाऽर्जीकीये शृणुत्वा भृषोमया ॥

Here Sāyaṇa looks upon these as the seven rivers, the Ganges, Yamunā, Sarasvatī, Sutlej, Ravi, Bias along with the Chenab and the Jhelum.

⁴ Rv. III. 33. 4.

एना वयं पयसा पिन्वमाना अनु योनि देवरुतं चरन्तीः ।

न वर्तवे प्रसवः सर्गतकः किञ्चुरिप्रो नयो जोहवीति ॥

⁵ Manu II. 17.

सरस्वतीष्टद्वत्येऽदेवनयोर्यदन्तरम् ।

तं देवनिर्मितं देशं ब्रह्मावर्तं प्रचक्षते ॥

Brahmāvarta means the abode of gods and possibly 'the scene of creation.'¹

Vaidika evolution

The Vaidika Saṁhitā supports the modern theory of evolution. The R̥gveda asserts that 'the herbs first came into existence'² and this statement is supported by the Holy Bible which affirms as follows³:— Let the earth bring forth grass, the herb yielding seed and the fruit tree yielding fruit.' The same book gives clue to the geological discovery that the animals were born on the bank of the Sarasvatī. 'In thee, Sarasvatī, divine, all generations have their stay.'⁴ It is an established fact that the creation can take place only on the highest place in the world. It was for this reason that Svāmi Dayānanda⁵ the greatest Vaidika scholar of the last century supposed Tibet (= Trivisṭapam) the birth-place of the Aryans and Max Müller⁶ another western Vaidika scholar placed it on the Himalayan region. But according to the theory of evolution there can be no human creation unless there is already enough subsistence easy of access created for his wants and comforts. Undoubtedly the flora and fauna first came into existence on the Tibet or the Pamir region and the animals on the bank of the river Sarasvatī.

Of the bank of the Devikā

According to the Mahābhārata⁷ the fifth Veda the human creation was first on the bank of the river Devikā. 'O Lord of kings, the best of the Bharatas, after this you should go to the world famous river Devikā where it is heard the Brāhmaṇas were born. 'Here the expression śrūyate (it is heard) clearly points

¹ Muir's Original Sanskrit Text, 1871, Vol. II. p. 400.

² Rv. X. 97. 1.

या ओषधीः पूर्वी जाता देवेभ्यस्त्रियुंगं पुरा ।

³ Genesis I.

⁴ Rv. II. 41. 17.

ते विश्वा सरस्वति श्रितायूर्णि देव्याम् ।

⁵ Satyārtha Prakāśa, Satābdī edition, 1981. V. S. Ajmer, p. 343 et. seq.

⁶ A History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, by Max Müller, reprint, Pāṇini Office, Allahabad, 1912, p. 7.

⁷ Mbh. III. 80. 103.

अथ गच्छेत राजेन्द्र देविकां लोकविश्वताम् ।

प्रसूतिर्यद्वा विप्राणां श्रूयते भरतर्षभम् ॥

to some Vaidika hymn which has been lost along with so many branches¹ of the Vaidika literature. Sjt. Nandalal Dey says as follows:—

Where is Devikā?

There are two rivers known as the Devikā, the one identified with the Sarju or the Gogra and the other flowed in the Panjab. Here the first is inadmissible being out of the context and unsuited for the various requirements of the Aryan abode. Devikā² ‘a river in the Punjab; it appears to be an affluent of the river Ravi. This river flowed through the country of Sauvira which according to Alberuni, was the country round Multan. It has its source in the Mainaka range. It also flowed through the country of Madra. Mūlasthāna (Multan) was situated on the Devikā. It has been identified with the river Deeg, a tributary of the Ravi on its right bank and this identification appears to be confirmed by the Vāmana Purāṇa.

Multan

The river Sarasvatī as Dr. A. C. Das³ points out flowed direct into the Rajputana Ocean.⁴ The Devikā river was not far from it near Multan (Mūlasthāna = the original place) which perhaps may correspond to the Mazandrana of the Avesta as well. Even at present the local residents of the place spell it Multhan which is certainly the corrupt form of the Sanskrit Mūlasthāna. It was near this Multan as is clear even at present that the human beings were first created.

The first-born Brāhmaṇas

In the beginning of the human creation there must be one caste only whether we take it to be of a Brāhmaṇa or of a Śūdra

¹ *Muktikopaniṣad*. I

ऋग्मेदस्य तु शास्त्राः स्युरेकविंशतिसंस्थ्यकाः ।
नवाधिकशतं शास्त्रा यजुषो मारुतात्मज ॥ १२ ॥
सहस्रसंस्थ्यया जाताः शास्त्राः साम्नः परंतप ।
अथर्वणस्य शास्त्राः स्युः पञ्चाशद्भेदतो हरे ॥ १३ ॥

² The Ancient Geography of India, by Nandalal Dey, Calcutta, 1927 under ‘Devikā’.

³ *Rgvedic India*, Vol. I, by Dr. A. C. Das, Calcutta, 1920.

⁴ RV. VII, 95. 2.

एकाचैतत् सरस्वती नदीमा शुचिर्यती गिरिष्य आ समुद्रात् ।

as it was later on pronounced by the Smṛtis¹; that one was a born Śūdra and it was only through the Saṁskāras (purifications) that he attained Brahminism. The Br̥hadāranyakopaniṣad² the Manusmṛti³ and the Mahābhārata⁴ say in clear terms that there were the Brāhmaṇas alone in the beginning and later on people were divided into different castes according to the social needs and their actions.

How the World came into existence?

We have also to take into consideration as to how the world came into existence. People have been discussing this topic since the beginning of the human civilisation. The Darwinian theory may be accepted most reasonably about the development of the creation laying aside the common belief that the ancestors of mankind were apes and so on down to the lowest creation. One has to take recourse to the mystery whether we call it God or Nature. We see that in the sun-flowers the male

¹ The following corrupt stanza is found in the satyārthapiakaśa only.

जन्मना जायते शूद्रः संस्कारोर्द्धिज उच्यते ।
वेदाभ्यासी भवेद्विषः ब्रह्म जानातीति ब्राह्मणः ॥

I have been unable to find it out in any authentic smṛti.

² ब्रह्म वा इदमय आसीत् एकमेव तदेकं सन्न व्यभवत् । तच्छेये सूर्यं अत्य-
सृजत क्षत्रं यान्यतानि देवता क्षत्राणि इन्द्रो वरुणः सोमो रुद्रः पर्जन्यो यमो मृत्युः
ईशान इति । स नैव व्यभवत् । स विश्वमसृजत वसवो रुद्रा आदित्या विश्वेदेवा मरुत्
इति । स नैव व्यभवत् । स शोदृं वर्णमसृजत पूषणं, इयं वै पूषा इयं हीदं सर्वं
पुष्यति । स नैव व्यभवत् तच्छेयो ऋष्यमत्यसृजत धर्मस् । तदेनद् ब्रह्म क्षत्रं विद्
शूद्रः देवेषु । अग्निनैव देवेषु ब्रह्माभवत् ब्राह्मणो मनुष्येषु क्षत्रियेण क्षत्रियो वैश्येन
वैश्यः शूद्रेण शूद्रः । — Br̥hadāranyakopaniṣad I-4.11-5

³ जन्मना ब्राह्मणो ज्ञेयः संस्कारोर्द्धिज उच्यते ।
विद्यया याति विप्रलं त्रिभिः श्रोत्रिय उच्यते ॥

Manu I. 31.

⁴ Mbh. XII. 188.

असृजद् ब्राह्मणानेव पूर्वं ब्रह्मा प्रजापतीन् ।
आत्मतेजोऽभिनिवृत्तान् भास्कराग्निसमप्रभान् ॥

.....
न विशेषोऽस्ति वर्णानां सर्वं ब्राह्मिदं जगत् ।
ब्रह्मणा पूर्वसृष्टं हि कर्मभिर्वर्णतां गतम् ॥

⁵ Annals, [B. O. R. I.]

and the female parts are combined. It is later in the poppy tree that the male and the female plants are separated. About the sexual creation we read in the Praśnopaniṣad¹ and the Manu² that the Almighty divided himself into the male and the female parts and then due to the sexual intercourse there was the progeny. Brahmā himself created Sarasvatī and intercoupled with her. Similar ideas are to be found in other religious scriptures as well. The first creation must take place on the bank of a river where he can get ample fruits and water for his support.

No mixture of colour

As regards the colour mixture of the Aryans and the aborigines, there is no proof that it is due to the intermarriages of the black coloured aborigines and the Aryans of fair complexion. Caraka,³ the greatest authority on medicine says,⁴ ‘As for the colour pigment, it is the animal heat which is its source; but when the ether and water particles predominate in the food the animal heat of the metabolic process produces a fair complexion. Where earth and air particles predominate in the food blackness is the result; and where the different elements are combined in nearly equal proportion in the food, the metabolic heat produces a dark pigment’. In the later literature ghee (clarified butter) habitually taken by the female

¹ भगवन्कुतो ह वा इमाः प्रजाः प्रजायन्त इति । तस्मै स हेवाच प्रजाकामो वै प्रजापतिः स तपोऽतप्यत स एव तपस्तप्त्वा स मिथुनमुत्पादयते रथि च प्राणं चैत्येतौ मे बहुधा प्रजाः करिष्ये इति । अदिद्यो ह वै प्राणः । रथिरेव चन्द्रमा रथिर्वा एतत्सर्वं यम्भूर्तं चामूर्तं च तस्मान्मूलिरेव रथिः । Praśnopaniṣad 3-5.

द्विधा रूतात्मनो देहमधेन पुरुषोऽभवत् ।

अर्थेन नारी तस्यां स विराजमसृजत् प्रभुः ॥

Manu, I, 3. 2.

³ About the date of Caraka, see my article, *Caraka aur Suśruta kā Samaya Vijñāna*, Allahabad, Minärka, 1993, V. S.

⁴ न सलु केवलमेतदेव कर्मवर्णानां वैशेष्यकरं आपि तु तेजोधातुरपि उदकान्त-रीक्षधातुः प्राणः अवदातवर्णकरो भवति । पृथिवीवायुधातुः प्रायः रुणवर्णकरः । सर्वसमधातुः प्रायः श्यामवर्णकरः । Caraka, Sarirasthāna, VIII, 15., see also Suśruta.

It has been quoted by Dr. B. N. Seal, also in his ‘The Positive Sciences of the Hindu,’ Calcutta, 1915.

during gestation is supposed to produce a fair complexion and rice or wheat and salads a dark complexion. So there is no evidence to suppose that the Dravidians, Kols and the Bhils belong to some other branch of mankind different from the Aryans. The Pr̥thu-Vainya¹ myth also points to the same stock and the colonisation of the South India by the sage Agastya² is well known. They are all Aryans and it is simply on account of the surroundings or environment that they look different from the Aryans ethnologically. According to the La marckian³ theory the surroundings produce a direct effect on the individual. They bring about slight modifications in one direction or another and these slight differences are transmitted by inheritance to the next generation. Such slight modifications going on generation after generation, produce eventually a marked effect on the character of the species. The chief agencies that might be supposed to act in this way are climate, the nature of the country and food.

Kuśa grass

The Mahābhārata states that the Soma plant was found only on the Muñjavat mountain. The Zoroastrians found great difficulty in obtaining the genuine Soma plant and hence they substituted a similiar fine juice which they called Haoma (- Soma). Moreover the Kuśa grass (*poa cynosuroides*) is found in India only and not in Central Asia or at the North-Pole. The use of Kuśa is very often found in the Veda and the Avesta. Even at the present day the Hindus and the Parsees use Kuśa in all their necessary religious ceremonies.

India the Paradise

Dr. Giles the reputed philologist makes no attempt to contradict the origin of his 'Wiros' in India where the sounds and specially the consonants of the language spoken have survived in greater purity than in Iran or elsewhere. As early as 1808 Schlegel, led by the high antiquity of Sanskrit the purest repre-

¹ His story is given in the Matsya Purāṇa X. 3-15,

² Rāmāyaṇa III, 11, 80-9. Raghuvaihśa IV. 44.

³ A Text-Book of Zoology, by T. J. Parker and W. A. Haswell, Macmillans, 1931, p. 629.

sentative of the Indo-European speech and its apparent linguistic purity, asserted that the parent language itself originated in India and spread thence outwards. Even prior to him Adelung (died 1806), the father of comparative philology, placed the cradle of mankind in the pleasant valley of Kāśmīra which he identified with paradise. India is certainly the Āryabhūmi—the land of the Aryans and in no way inferior to the paradise itself. Abdulla Wassaf rightly says,¹ “If it is asserted that paradise is in India, Be not surprised because Paradise itself is not comparable to it.”

Aryans went abroad from India

The Kalpasūtra² asserts that Purūravas had two sons by Urvaśī-Āyus and Āmavasu. Āyus went eastwards and founded Kuru-Pañcāla and Kāśī-Videha nations, while Amāvasu went westwards and founded Gāndhāra, Sprśava and Āratṭa. And the Padma Purāṇa³ states that the Śakas were driven out by king Sagara, a descendant of Ikṣvāku to the countries beyond the borders of India, after getting their heads etc. shaved under the advice of Vasistha, although they were Kṣatriyas. We have already come to know the migration of Druhyu's descendants, so we may say that the Aryans went abroad from India and established their colonies there. Certainly the Aryans continued their going out and coming in to and from all parts of the world. Hence it may be concluded that the man or the Aryans were first born on the bank of the river Devikā near Multan in the Punjab. I hope the learned readers and scholars would very kindly oblige me with their kind opinion and learned criticisms.

N. B.—I owe a debt of deep gratitude to my learned Professor Dr. S. C. Sircar—a distinguished scholar of high repute for his kindness in clearing many a knotty point.

¹ Abdulla Wassaf, in ‘Tazjiyat-ul-Amsar,’ see, H. M. Elliot's History of India, London, 1871, Vol. III, p. 29.

² Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra, XVIII, 35–51.

³ Padma Purāṇa, Svarga Khanda XV.

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY AND KINSHIP USAGES
IN RGVEDA AND ATHARVAVEDA

BY

IRAWATI KARVE

This paper is the first part of an investigation undertaken since last year. It is proposed to investigate "the kinship terminology and kinship usages in ancient and modern India". The university of Bombay gave me last year (July 1938 to June 1939) a grant of Rs. 300 for this work and it has enabled me to finish this paper.

The subject has been studied by Sanskritists, but their interest was mainly philological. This paper is written with a view to ascertain the family institutions of the vedic people and to find out how far they have been preserved in modern India.¹

The first part deals with the terminology, the second with the usages. The second part is based on the first, but wherever there are gaps in the information found in the first, I have tried, I think legitimately, to fill them from later sources. The second part will form an interpretation of the data gathered together in the first.

I have to thank the University of Bombay for their research grant. I have further to thank Prof. G. S. Ghurye of the School of Sociology of the University of Bombay for reading the paper, discussing it and making very valuable suggestions. I am also indebted to Prof. R. N. Dandekar for his many suggestions in the first part of this paper.

Part I

Kinship terminology

1. *Terms for the first ascendant generation and generations beyond.*

(a) Male :—

¹ B. Delbrück wrote an extensive paper on this theme in Abh. König. Sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch. 1889. Unfortunately I have been unable to procure it, though I read a short summary of it in Ceylon Journal of Science, 1928, Vol. I, part IV, p. 179.

पितृ, जनितृ, तत, पितुषिता, पितामह, ततामह, प्रपितामह, प्रततामह.

The word *pitr* in singular means father, thus.

स नः पितेव गृहवे अथे स्त्रायरो भव । Rv. 1. 1. 9

(Agni, be to us of easy access even as a father to a son).

The word seems to have been used in a classificatory sense, and to have been applied to the father, father's brothers, father's cousins etc. There are certain devices used in order to distinguish the own father from these other fathers. The word *janitṛ* (जनितृ) is used adjectivally to qualify the word *pitr* and give it the definite connotation of "own father "

कियस्त्वादिन्द्रो अध्येति मातुः कियत् पितुः जनितुयो जजान Rv. 4. 17. 12

(How much doth Indra care for his mother ? How much for his father who begat him ? for his own father ?).

In a hymn to Viśvakarman the following verse is found.

यो नः पिता जनिता यो विधाता धामानि वेद भुवनानि विश्वा । Rv. 10.82.3

(He who is our begetter father, who, as Disposer, knoweth all homes and all beings).

In the following example the Heaven is called the own father and a *nābhi* while the Mother Earth is called *bandhu*.

यौमे पिता जनिता नाभिरत्र बन्धुमे माता पृथिवी मही इयम् । 1.164.33

(Heaven is my own father and Nābhi, this great Earth is my Mother and Bandhu). [for *Nābhi* and *Bandhu* cf. further under " general relationship terms "].

Another device to distinguish the own from other fathers or "status" fathers is to use the word *pitr* in the superlative degree.

सखा पिता पितृतमः पितृणां कर्तेषु लोकं उशते वयोधाः । Rv. 4.17.17

(Friend, among all fathers the most fatherly father, (you) give the suppliant vital strength and freedom).

All gods are fathers but Indra is the "father most"—*pitrītama* i. e. among those called fathers the one who performs the functions of the real father.

pitrītama *pitrā* was in all probability also the *janitā pitrā*.

The word *janitṛ* (जनितृ) is used for "father" in both the Vedas, while in the Atharvaveda is found at two places the word

तत (*tata*). In later classical Sanskrit the word *tata* becomes *tāta* (तात) and is quite well known.¹

गर्भे नु नौ जनिता दम्पती कर् देवः त्वष्टा सविता विश्वस्तपः ।

Rv. 18.10.5; Av. 18.1.5

(Verily, the generator (father) made us two in the womb man and spouse—god *Tvastar*, *Savitar* of all forms).

पितरः परे ते मा अवन्तु । तता अवेर ते मा अवन्तु । Av. 5.24.16 and 17
(The upper Fathers—let them favour us. The lower Fathers—let them favour us).

The word *pitr* and *tata* are used here to denote the departed ancestors.

एतते तत स्वधा । Av. 18.4.77

(Here *Swadhā* to you O ! father).

As the word *pitr* was used in a classificatory sense, no separate word is found for uncle² either in *Rgveda* or in *Atharvaveda*.

The word *pitr* used in dual means both the parents. This usage is quite common also to later Sanskrit literature.

युवाना पितरा पुनः सत्यमन्त्रा कर्त्तृयथः । कर्त्तव्यो विष्णवक्त । Rv. 1.20.4

(The Rbhūs, with effectual prayers, honest, with constant labour made their parents young again.³)

¹ The feminine form of this Indogermanic word is "Teta" in Russian, *Tate* in old German and "Tante" in modern German. The Marathi word *Āte* or *Ātyā* (आत, आत्या), which, just like the Russian and German words, means "father's sister," seems to belong to the same root.

² In modern dialects there is no independent word for "father's brother". The words denoting paternal uncle are always derived from the word for father. The same is the case with Pāli and Ardhāgadhi. Thus in Pāli "Culla-tāta" (चुल्लतात = Sans. क्षुल्लतात) means "Uncle, small father". In Ardhāgadhi "Culla-Piua" (चुल्लपिउ = क्षुल्लपितृक) = small father i. e. uncle. "Culla-māu or ulla-māuyā" [चुल्लमाऊ or चुल्लमाऊया = क्षुल्लमातृका] means step mother. In Marathi the word (चुल्लता) has the same derivation. In Maratha country the younger uncle is called "Dhakala Bāvā" (धाकला बावा) i.e. younger father " and the elder uncle Thorala Bāvā (थोरला बावा) i. e. elder father.

³ The word *Mantra* is *Satya-mantra* above seems to be used in the sense of magical incantation rather than that of prayer. *Satya-mantras* (सत्यमन्त्र) are those whose incantations are true i. e. effective. The activities of Rbhūs as described in *Rgveda*, all seem to be of a magical nature, and their quarrel with *Tvastṛ* seems to be a quarrel between two rival schools of magicians. In modern dialect *Mantra* has come to mean exclusively " magical incantations ".

In *Rigveda* no independent terms are found for the generations beyond the first ascendant male. The term *pitr* is qualified by adjectives like *pratna* (प्रत्न = ancient), *mahat* (महत् = big or great) or *bṛhat* (बृहत् = great) to denote an ancestor. Different gods conceived as ancestors are called by such phrases. In later mythology the creator definitely receives the appellation *pītā-maha* (grand-father) which is implied in the following examples.

कृष्णां पदेनो अभि वर्षसा भृत जनयन् योषा बृहतः पितुः जाम् । Rv. 10.3.2

(Having overcome the glimmering black with beauty and giving birth to the young woman the *Great Sire's Daughter*).

पितुः प्रत्नस्य जन्मना वदामसि सोमस्य निह्वा प्रजिगाति चक्षसा । Rv. 1.87.5

(We speak by our descent from one ancient father, our tongue stirs itself when we behold Soma).

महे पित्रे वदाथ स्वं नपातम् । Rv. 6.20.11

Thou gavest to the *Great Sire* his child (grandchild ?).

यज्ञायथा: तदहरस्य कार्मेऽशो पीयूषमपिको गिरिष्टाम् ।

तं ते माता परि योषा जनित्री महः पितुर्दमे आसिश्वद्ये ॥ Rv. 3.48.2

(That day when thou wast born, wishing to taste it, drankest the plant's milk growing on the mountains, that milk thy own young mother poured for thee first in thy *great father's* dwelling).

सना पुराणमध्येमि आरान् महः पितुः जनितुः जामि तन्नः । Rv. 3.54.9

(From far away and from of old (sanā) I ponder, our kinship with our *great sire* and begetter (the later Prajapati of Atharva-veda ?)).

The expression *pītūspitā* (पितुलिप्ता) is also used in both the *Vedas*. It does not however mean "father's father" or "grand-father" but seems to be applied even to more remote ancestors. It seems to be used as a synonym for *mahāpitā* etc. and means "an ancestor" in general.

ये नः पितुः पितरः ये पितामहा ये आविविश्वरुच्चतरिक्षम् ।

ये आक्षियन्ति पृथिवीसुत धातेर्स्यः पितुर्भ्यो नमसा विधेम ॥ Av. 18. 2.49

(They that are our father's fathers, that are our grandfathers,

that entered the wide atmosphere, they that dwell on earth and heaven to those fathers we pay homage).

In this passage the words *pituspitar*, *pitāmaha* and *pitar* are used synonymously to denote ancestors.

गर्भे मातुः पितृष्पिता विदियुतानो अक्षरे । सीदन् कृतस्य योनिम् आ । Rv.6.16.35
(Father's father (the ancient god), shining in the ever-lasting womb of the mother, sitting on the seat of truth).

In Atharvaveda and Rgveda the words *pituspītā* (पितृष्पिता) are also used in a sense different to that discussed just now. It occurs in passages where something difficult to know is set forth and the passages end with the expression "he who knows this is *pituspītā*." It seems *pituspītā* in this context does not mean father's father i. e. grandfather but "one who is wiser or greater than his own father." In modern dialects this use of the word father is quite common. Thus when one says, "I am as strong as an elephant;" Another replies, "well then I am your father." (i. e. I am much above you in strength).¹

त्रीणि पदानि निहिता गुहास्य यस्तानि वेद स पितृष्पितासत् । Av. 2.1.2
(Three quarters of it (are) deposited in secret; whoso knoweth them, he shall be the father's father.)

विद्यः सतीस्तां उ मे दुः आहुः पश्यदक्षण्वान् वि चेतदन्धः ।
कविर्यः उत्रः स ईमा चिकेत यस्ता विजानात्स पितृष्पितासत् । Av. 9.9.15
(They being women, they declared to me to be men ; he who hath eyes may see, but the blind will not distinguish ; the son that is a poet, he verily understood, whoever knows these things apart, he shall be (his) father's father.)

In Rgveda and Atharvaveda, the word *pītṛ* is used in plural to denote "ancestors or manes" in general." The word *pītṛ* was used not only for all males of the father's generation but also for those belonging to generations beyond the father. In a similar way the word for son and grandson were the same (cf. further in उत्र etc.). It would thus appear that the word *pītṛ* was not used by extension of meaning for all ancestors, but primarily meant

¹ " A child has dined at the name giving ceremony of his father " (ते मूल आपल्या बापाच्या बारशाळा जेवले आहे) is another way of saying that the child winds his father round its little finger. It is its father's father.

"any male beyond the speaker's generation." In later times the connotation of the word became more definite but the plural was always used to denote dead ancestors.¹

In the Vedas male ancestors alone are cared for and given food. *pītar* thus stands for dead *males* of the clan. It was only in later times that the female ancestors received any attention in the *Śrāddha* ceremonies and came to be counted among *pītrs*.

In Atharvāveda the device of qualifying the word *pītr* by the adjective 'mahat' is given up and new words are coined for grandfather and great grandfather. It is simply by making a composite word from the adjective and the noun that the new word is coined. Thus we have the words *pitāmaha*, *prapitāmaha* *tatāmaha* and *pratatāmaha*.

The meaning of these words is however not quite fixed. In some contexts they appear to mean "ancestors" in general, while in others they mean definitely "grandfather" and "great grandfather."

ये नः पितुः पितरः ये पितामहा य आविविशुर्वन्तरिक्षम् ।

य आक्षिपन्ति दृथिवीसुत यां तेभ्यः पितृभ्यो नमसा विधेम ॥ Av. 18.2.49

(They that are our father's fathers, that are grandfathers, that entered the wide atmosphere, they that dwell on earth and heaven to those fathers would we pay worship with homage).

In this passage the words *pītuśpitaras*, *pitāmahas* and *pitaras* are used synonymously to denote ancestors.

आत्मानं पितरं एुत्रं पौत्रं पितामहम् ।

जायां जनित्रीं मातरं ये विधाः ताम् उपह्वये ॥ Av. 9.5.30

(Self, father, son, grandson, grandfather, wife, the mother that bore (me), those who are dear, them I call upon).

¹ This loose connotation of the word *Pītr* seems to have been responsible for a certain confusion in later Puranic mythology and history. In the Purāṇas certain kings of the line of Sōma Vārhīśa are said to have married the *Pītrkanyā*. The Purāṇas explain this to mean that they married Svadhā a mythical daughter of the deified ancestors. But *Pītrkanyā* must mean here the daughter of one's father i. e. either "a step sister" or "an own sister". The marriage of a man with his sister is not an unusual phenomenon in Rgveda.

In this passage the meaning of the term पितामह is quite clear which means definitely grandfather. Here are also enumerated clearly five male generations grandfather, father, self, son and grandson.

The term प्रपितामह is used once only in Atharvaveda to denote ancestors in general. It is used in the plural and hence applies to the far away ancestors. The term प्रतामह is however used definitely to mean great grandfather as the context shows.

वैश्वानरे हविरिदं ज्ञाहोमि सहस्रं शतधारमुत्सम् ।

स विभर्ति पितरं पितामहान् प्रपितामहान् विभर्ति विन्वमानः ॥ Av. 18.4.35

(In Vaiśvānara I offer this oblation, a thousandfold, hundred streamed fountain. It supports (our) father, grandfathers, great grandfathers it supports, swelling.

एतते प्रतामह स्वधा ये च त्वामनु । Av. 18.4.75

एतते ततामह „ „ „ „ 18.4.76

एतते तत स्वधा । Av. 18.4.77

(Here is *Svadhā* for thee O ! Greatgrandfather and for them that are after thee.

Here is *Svadhā* for thee O ! Grandfather and for them that are after thee.

Here is *Svadhā* for thee O ! father).

In Rgveda there is only one term to denote a male in the ascending line and that is *pitr*. In Atharvaveda we have four words and though there is still some confusion in some places as regards the exact ancestor meant, on the whole the terms have acquired a fixed meaning, which remained the same throughout later Sanskrit literature. The Atharvavedic terms are : (1) *pitr* and *tata* = father, (2) *pitāmaha* and *tatāmaha* = grandfather and (3) *prapitāmaha* and *pratatāmaha* = "great-grandfather."

Pitiloka, the home of the father, or the clan of the father, or the abode of the departed.

उशतीः कन्यला इमाः पितॄलोकात् पति यतीः । Av. 14.2.52

(These eager girls going to a husband from the father's world (clan)).

In this sense the word occurs as a term opposite to the term *patiloka* (पतिलोक) "the world of the husband.". Before her marriage a girl belonged to her father's world, after her marriage

she belonged to that of her husband, in life as well as in death. cf. further in *pati*)

Pitṛloka also means the world of the dead and as such it is quite common in later literature. The word *pitṛloka* occurs only in Atharvaveda.

(b) Female :—

मातृ, मातृतमा, जनित्री, अम्बा, अम्बिका अम्बितमा.

The word *mātṛ* is used for mother in both the Vedas. Like the word *pitṛ* it seems to have been used also in a classificatory sense. Thus we have the expression *mātṛtamā* applied to rivers.

अच्छा सिन्धुं मातृतमामयासं विपाशसुर्वीं सुभगामगन्म । Rv. 3.33.3

(I have reached the most motherly Sindhu, we have approached Vipāś, the broad, the blessed).

पूर्णं हि ई भिषजो मातृतमा विश्वस्य रथातुर्जगतो जनित्रीः । Rv. 6.50.7

(For ye (waters) are our most motherly physicians, parents of all that standeth, all that moveth.).

The word *mātṛtamā*, like the parallel words *pitṛtamā*, *ambitamā* and *bhrātṛtamā* does not occur in Atharvaveda.

The dual of the word means just like the dual of the word *pitṛ*, "both the parents"

अहु ते शुर्वं दुर्यन्तमीयतुः क्षोणी शिशुं न मातरा । Rv. 8.99.6

(To the victorious matter clung the Earth and Heaven as parents to their child).

The word *जनित्री* is used substantively to mean mother. It also occurs in the dual where it means "parents".

य हमे यावा द्विधर्वी जनित्री स्वैरपिंशस्त्रवनानि विश्वा । Rv. 10.110.9

(He who formed these Heaven and Earth, the *parents* with their mainfold creation)

At other places *janitri* occurs as an adjective qualifying the word *mātṛ*. Another adjective to qualify *mātṛ* is *mahī*, the feminine form of *mahū* = big. These usages are parallel to the usages as regards the word *pitṛ*. on p. 70f.

आमानं पितरं पुत्रं पौत्रं पितामहं । जायां जनित्रीं मातरं ये प्रियास्तातुप ह्वये ।

Av. 9.5.30

(Self, father, son, grandson, grandfather, wife, the mother that bore me, (own mother), those who are dear—them I call upon).

बाजस्य हु प्रसवे मातरं महीमदिति नाम बचसा करामहे । Av. 7.6.4

(Now in the impulse of might, we commemorate with utterance
the great (grand ?) mother *Aditi*)

प्रयुज्ञती दिव एति ब्रुवाणा मही माता दुष्टिर्वोधयन्ती । Rv. 5.47.1

(Urging to toil, and making proclamation, seeking Heaven's
daughter comes the great (grand ?) Mother.).¹

In Atharvaveda also the word *mātr* is not further developed like the word *pitr*. The female relatives did not play an important role in the patriarchal institutions of the Vedic people and hence the neglect.

Besides the word *mātr*, the words *ambā* or *ambi* (अम्भा, अभि॒) occur in Rgveda, with the superlative form *ambitamā* (अभितमा). It does not occur in a new verse in Atharvaveda. With one single exception the word is used throughout in the vocative.

अम्भ चुलाभिके । Rv. 10.86.6 and 7 (O Mother Sulabhike)

प्रशस्ति अम्भ नस्तुषि । Rv. 2.41.16 (O Mother give us renown).

अभितमे नदीतमे देवितमे सरस्वति । Rv. 2.41.16

(Best of mothers, best of rivers, best of goddesses, Sarasvati).²

2. Terms for descendants

(a) Male :—

There are many words used for offspring in general. As the usual prayer was that for a male child, it may be inferred that most of these words were meant to stand for a male descendant. One finds them used in a very confusing way without any definite reference as to whether the descendant was removed by one

¹ The words *Maha* or *Mahat* are used elsewhere, either adjectively or substantively, to denote age or status. We have thus: ओ पु प्र याहि वाजेभिः मा हृणीषः अभि अस्मान् । महान् इव युवजानिः ॥ Rv 8. 2. 19. (Come here swift with gifts of wealth, be not angry with us like an old man with a young wife). मा नो महान्तं उत मा नो अर्पकं मा नो हिसीः पितरं मातरं च । Av 9. 2. 29. (Do not kill our old ones, nor our little ones, neither the father, nor the mother). महो जाया विवस्तो ननाश । Rv X. 17.51. (The eldest wife of Vivasvan disappeared).

In Konkan among the kubis this very adjective महत् is used in a similar way. The grandfather is called *Mhātārā Bāvā* (great father) and the grandmother is called *Mhātārī Āi* (great mother).

² The Indogermanic root is *Ammā* = mother. Many Sanskrit words change their final m to mb in modern dialects; thus—Sanskrit चम् *Camū* = चम्बू *Cambū* and दालिम *Dādima* = *Dālimba* डालिम्ब in Marathi. From the original *Ammā*, the word *Ambā* seems to have been thus derived. It was used most probably in the everyday dialect when calling the mother. Hence its occurrence in the vocative case with one exception where the meaning seems to be " women " and not mothers. आम्भः यन्ति अभाभिः etc. Rv. 1. 23. 16. In classical literature it was accepted and used in literature in all cases,

generation or more than one generation from the speaker. The words are used in a classificatory sense. Thus, the word for son may stand for own son, or brother's son, or for the grandson.

(A) From the root जन् jan जा jā = to be born, we have the following terms. Jā (जा), prajā (प्रजा), vijā (विजा), and their opposite अप्रजस् (A-prajas), अप्रजस्ता (A-prajastā) and अप्रजास्त्व (A-prajāstva). (जा) Jā means offspring,

परि पाहि नो जाः । Rv. 1.143.8

Vijā and prajā (विजा, प्रजा) also mean offspring.

गोभ्यो अश्वेभ्यो नमः यच्छालयां विजायते

विजावति प्रजावति वि ते पाशान् चृतामसि । (Av. 9.3.13)

(Homage to kine, to horses, whatever is born (Vijā) in the dwelling; thou rich in births (vijā), rich in progeny, (prajā) we unfasten thy fetters).

प्र जायेमहि रुद्र प्रजाभिः । Rv. 2.33.1

(May we transplant us, Rudra, in our children).

अप्रजस्, अप्रजस्ता, अप्रजास्त्व all mean "being childless." The state of childlessness was the worst that could befall a person, especially a woman and some of the most vivid stanzas of Atharvaveda are devoted to the magic by which a rival is made childless.

अस्वं त्वा अप्रजसं रुणोमि अइमानं ते आपिधानं रुणोमि । Av. 7.35.3.

(I make thee barren, without progeny ; I make a stone thy cover).

अवास्तुमेन अस्वं अप्रजसं करोति अपरापरणो भवति क्षीयते । Av. 12.5.45

(Without house, without home, without progeny, she makes him ; he becomes without succession ; he is destroyed).

अप्रजास्त्वं मार्तवत्सं आद्रोदं अधं आवयम् ।

रुक्षादिव ऋजंकृत्वा अप्रिये प्रतिषुद्ध तत् । Av. 8.6.26

(Childlessness, stillbirth, also weeping, guilt barrenness—that do thou give to our enemy as a garland from a tree).

Both barrenness (A—prajāstva) and stillbirth (Mūrtavatsa) were supposed to be due to black magic or interference of demons ; there are other hymns in Atharvaveda to remove these two evils. The god प्रजापति (Prajāpati) is the god of fertility and he is called upon to lay seed in a woman. In the following verse the role of different gods is made quite clear.

विष्णुयोनि कल्पयतु त्वष्टा रूपाणि पिंशतु ।

आ सिञ्चतु प्रजापतिः घाता गर्भं दधातु ते ॥ Av. 5.25.5

(Let Viṣṇu prepare the womb; let Tvaṣṭar adorn the forms ; let Prajāpati pour—(the seed); late Dhātar place thine embryo).

(B) From तन् (*Tan*) = to draw out a thread, to last, to live on, are derived many words meaning child or descendant.

तन्, तन, तनस्—तनय and तना all mean child or offspring. In some contexts a more definite meaning—son or grandson—seems to be called for; but generally no such distinction is made. These words occur in combination with other words like हुज् (*tuj*) or शेष (*sesa*) or सूनु (*sunu*) which also mean offspring and it would seem as if one word of these pairs stood for child while the other stood for grandchild.

Sometimes *tana* or *tanaya* is used adjectivally to qualify words like *sunu* or *toka*.

हुने नः तने पर्वताः सन्तु Rv. 5.41.9.

(Let Parvatas be for our offspring (*tuj* and *tan*)).

राया मदेम तन्वा तना च । Rv. 6.49.13

(May we and our offspring find joy in wealth)

परः स अस्तु तन्वा तना च । Rv. 7.104.11 and Av. 8.4.11.

(May he be far away--swept--away--with self and with posterity) *Tan* masculine and neut. and *tanā* fem.=child or descendant,

हुजे तनाय तत्सु नो द्राघीय आशुर्ज्ञवसे । Rv. 8.18.18

(Grant to our children (and their children? = *Taj* and *Tan*) an extended term of life)

मा कस्य अङ्गुतक्तु यक्षं भुजेमः तनूभिः ।

मा शेषसा मा तनसा । Rv. 5.70.4

May we not, O wondrous strong, enjoy another's feast-ourselves (*tanu*), our sons (*sesas*) or our progeny (*tanas*).

The word तनय (*tanaya*) which in later Sanskrit always means son, is used both as an adjective and as a noun in Rgveda. As a substantive it seems to mean both son and grandson. In the following the word *tanaya* is used as an adjective.

स्याऽऽस्तु तनस्तनयो विजावा । Rv. 3.1.23

(To us be born a son to continue our line).

बलं तोकाय तनयाय धेहि । Rv. 3.53.18

(Give strength to my child to continue the line).

तोकं पुष्येम तनयं शतं हिमाः । Rv. 1.64.14

(May we foster a son to perpetuate the family for a hundred winters).

In the above passages the meaning of the word seems to be derived directly from the root तन् (*tan*), to spread, to draw out

to lengthen. The word *tanaya* (तनय) is also used substantively. It is joined by the word च (and) with the word तोक (*tōka*) or *Toke* etc.

सूक्ष्य बोधि तनयं च जिन्व । Rv. 2.23.19

Take account of this hymn and prosper my progeny.

मा त्वे सचा तनये नित्य आ धक्ष मा वीरो अस्मन्नयो वि दासीत् । Rv. 7.21.1
(In thy company let me not be in want of a son for ever ; May not a male child be wanting to us)

येन तोकं च तनयं च धामहे । Rv. 1.92.13 and 9.74.5

(So that we may get a child and a child's child (? *toka*, *tanaya*))

These words do not occur in Atharvaveda independently. The word *tana* (तन) appears twice, but in verses which are identical to these in Rgveda, the word *tanaya* (तनय) does not appear at all.¹

From the word *tuc* तुच् = seedling, child, the following words all meaning either child or grand-child are found in Rgveda.

तुच् and तुज् (*tuc* and *tuj*) are found in Rgveda तोक (*tōka*) in Rgveda and Atharvaveda अवतोक, सतोक and तोकवन्त (*avatōka*, *satōka* and *tōkavanta*) in Atharvaveda only.

अस्य रायस्य त्वं अग्ने रथीः आसि । विदा गाप्यं तुचे तु नः । Rv. 6.48.9.

(You are the charioteer of this wealth Agni, find root and safety for our progeny).

तुचे तनाय तस्य नो द्राधीय आयुर्जीवसे । Rv. 8.18.18. cf. above p. 89.

तुजे नस्तने पर्वताः सन्तु । Rv. 5.41.9. cf. above p. 79.

तोकाय तुजे शुशुच्चान शं कृषि अस्मभ्यं दस्म शं कृषि Rv. 4.1.3

(Bless us for children and (childrens' children ?) Ye, bless us you wondrous God)

इषं तोकाय नो दधत् अस्मभ्यं सोम विश्वतः ।

आ पवस्त्र सहस्रिणम् ॥ Rv. 9.65.21.

(Soma bestowing food on our progeny, from every side pour riches on us a thousandfold).

उपस्तच्चित्रमा भर अस्मभ्यं वाजिनीवती । येन तोकं च तनयं च धामहे

Rv. 1.92.13.

¹ The Marathi words तानी and तातू (*Tānī* and *Tātu*) or तान्हे and तात्हुले (*Tānhē* and *Tātħulē*) are probably to be traced to तनु = small and तनुक = small, from तन = child, offspring.

(Dawn, enriched with wealth bestow on us wonderful gift so that we may support children and their children.)

मानस्तोके तनये मा न आयौ मा नो गोऽु मा नो अश्वेषु रीरिषः । Rv. 1.114.8.
 (Harm us not in our progeny, harm us not in the living, in the cows or steeds).

The use of *tuj* and *toka* or *toka* and *tanaya* in pairs is peculiar. It suggests that the words were used indiscriminately for all descendants, and when in pairs meant children and grandchildren, just like the words *tanu*, *tanaya* and *sūnu*. Perhaps it is only a repetition, the two words having the same meaning as in Marathi कच्चीबच्ची, पोरंबाळ (Kacci-bacci, Pore-bālē). If so the use is rather too frequent and monotonous. From the words *pitr* and *mātr* it is quite clear that in Rgveda no distinction was made in the terms applied to different generations of ancestors. The same appears to be the case with descendants as will be abundantly clear in the use of the word *nāpit* (नप्तु).

In Atharvaveda the word *toka* तोक is not combined with any other word. Its meaning is everywhere clear and it stands for offspring in general. The meaning is very forcibly brought in the negative word *avatoka* and the words *satoka* and *tokavanta*.

या शशाप शपनेन या अघमूरमादधे । या रसस्य हरणाय जातमारेमे तोकमत्तु सा ॥
 Av. 1.28.3

(She who has cursed us with a curse, or hath conceived a murderous sin, or seized our son to take his blood, let her eat her own child).

सृष्टदत्सृष्टत सृष्टया नस्तनूभ्यः । नयस्तोकेभ्यस्तुषि । Av. 1.26.4

(Further our cause, favour our bodies with your love. Give happiness to our children.)

The meaning is very clear in the following :

यः कृणोति सृतवस्तां अवतोकां इयं खियम् । तमोषधे त्वं नाशय Av. 8.6.9

(The fiend which makes this woman lose her child or bear untimely fruit (abortion) destroy him. O ! plant.).

मा नो देवा आहिर्वर्धित सतोकान् सहपूरुषान् । Av. 6.56.1

(Let not the serpent kill us O ! Gods with our children and grownups)

न् नो रास्व सहन्रवत् तोकवत् पुष्टिमद् वसु । Rv. 3.13.7

(Grant us treasures thousand fold with children and with nourishment).

Another word for offspring is *apatyā* (अपत्य). It is used in both the Vedas.

प्रजामपत्यं बलमिच्छमानः । Rv. 1.179.6

(wishing for children, children's children (?) and power.)

ददामीत्येव ब्रूयादनु चैनामसुत्सत् । वशां ब्रह्मणो याचद्वचस्तप्रजावदपत्यवत् ॥

Av. 12.4.1

(I give her—thus should he say, if they have noticed her—(I give) the cow (Vasā) to the priests that ask for her. That brings progeny descendants).

अस्मे रथि नासत्या बृहन्तं अपत्यसाचं श्रुत्यं स्त्राथाम् । Rv. 1.117.23

(Grant me, Nāsatyas, riches in abundance, famous, accompanied with children).

युयोत नो अनपत्यानि गन्तोः प्रजावन्नः पशुमान् अस्तु गातुः । Rv. 3.54.18

(The lot of childlessness remove from us, and let our course be rich in kine and offspring).

क्षुधामारं तृष्णामारं अगोतां अनपत्यतां ।

अपामार्ग त्वया सर्वं तदपसृज्यताम् Av. 4.17.6

(Death by hunger, death by thirst, kinelessness, childlessness—through thee, O Apāmārga, we wipe off all that).

वीर (*Vira*) = Hero, a male child, occurs in both the Vedas. In later literature the word means hero and not "a son".

The word *vīrasū* (वीरसू) should be interpreted as "mother of sons" in Rgveda and Atharvaveda.

पिन्वतं गा जिन्वतं अर्वतो नो वर्धयतम् अश्विना वीरं अस्मे । Rv. 1.118.2

(Fill full the cows, make victorious our horses and make our son prosper, O Aśvins).

वीरसूः देवकामा स्योना शं नो भव द्विपदे शं चतुष्पदे । Rv. 10.85.44 Av. 1.4.

(Bearing sons, loving the gods, delightful, bring blessings to our bipeds and quadrupeds). [in Atharvaveda the reading is देवकामा= loving the Devi.]

यतो वीरः कर्मण्यः सुदक्षो युक्तग्रावा जायते देवकामः । Rv. 3.4.9

(From where is born a son, powerful, skilled in action, adjustor of press stones and a lover of gods).

तान्व (*tānva*) = son, occurs but once in Rgveda and means "child" or "son".

न जामये तान्वो रिक्ष्य आरैः ।

(The son (child) did not leave the inheritance to his brother (? sister)).

पुत्र (*putra*) and सूनु (*sūnu*) are two words oftenest used in both the Vedas and mean “ a son ”. There are however a few places in which the meaning seems to be “ child ” and not male child.

पुत्र (*putra*) is derived from pou or peu = pu = small, the related words *pōta* and *potaka* (पोता, पोतक) are quite common in later literature, though not found in the Vedas. The original meaning “ the little one, a child ” seems to to be retained in the following verse.

एमांसं एत्रं जनय तं एमान् अनु जायताम् । Av. 3.23.3
(Give birth to a male child, after him let a male be born).

The expressions *Sahasputra*, *Urjasputra* seem to mean simply “ child of strength ” and not necessarily “ son of strength ”.

त्वामिद्धि सहस्रुत्र मर्त्यं उपवृत्ते धने हिते । Rv. 1.40.2
(O child of strength, each mortal calls to thee for aid).

ऊर्जः पुत्रं भरतं सुप्रदानुं देवा अग्निं धारयन् द्रविणोदाम् । Rv. 1.96.3
(Child of strength, well tended, the constant giver. The Gods possessed the well bestowing Agni).

उत त्यं पुत्रमग्नवः परावृक्तं शतक्तः । उक्येषु इन्द्रं आभजत् । Rv. 4.30.16
(To that child of an unmarried girl, to the cast away, did Indra of hundred strength cause to share the lands).

इयं गं अहे शृणुतं मे अश्विना पुत्रायेव पितरा मद्यं शिक्षतम् । Rv. 10.39.6
(I call on you., Listen to me, O Aswins, Give me your aid as parents aid their child).

In the above examples the word *putra* can well be translated by the word “ child ”, but the word generally means “ male child ” or “ son ”.

मम पुत्राः शशुहण्णोऽथो मे द्विहिता विराद् । Rv. 10.159.3
(My sons are slayers of foes, my daughter is a ruling queen).

The word *sūnu* is derived from *sū* = to give birth. It means son, male child generally, though in some places it seems to mean simply child. At one place it is used adjectivally to qualify a word meaning child.

अग्ने दिवः सूनुरसि प्रचेताः तना पृथिव्या उत विश्ववेदाः । Rv. 3.25.1
(O Agni, thou art the wise child of the Heaven and the all knowing child of Earth. (Here *tana* and *sūnu* are synonymous)).

अवावशन्त धोतयो दृषभस्याधि रेतसि । सुनोवत्सस्य मातरः । Rv. 9.19. 4
 (Over the steer's productive flow (*retasi*), the songs were resonant (like) the mothers over a child born). [*Sūnu* is used as an adjective of *vatsa*].

स्याज्ञः सुनुस्तनयो विजावाग्न । Rv. 3.1.23

(May we have a son (*sūnu*), of our very own, (*vijāvan*) to continue our line (*tanaya*). Or the above may be translated.

May we have a child (*sūnu*), a son of our own (*tanaya vijāvā*).

Thus, though the words *sūnu*, *tanaya* and *putra* were used to denote "son" there are ample traces of an earlier usage when these words were true to their root-meaning and meant "one who is born, one who lives, or a little one"—that is "a child". The words were used indiscriminately for all descendants but were later used in a more restricted sense and stood for "a male child or son".

The same process can be traced also for the next and the most important word for child. The word is *naptṛ* or *napāt* (नपू-
नपात्).

नप्तृ, नपी, नासि, नप्त्यं; प्रणपात, पौत्र.

Napāt = Grandchild—Nephew.

Rgvedic usage of the word is very interesting. It is used in classificatory sense meaning simply "a descendant". In some places it means "son" and in others it definitely means "grandson".

There are certain expressions of a conventional nature occurring in both the Vedas where different gods are called the *napāt* of this or that. In such expressions the meaning of the term cannot be fixed for certain. सहसो नपात्, ऊर्जो नपात्, प्रवतो नपात्, अपां नपात् are some of the many examples. Here the word नपात् is best translated by the English word "child". Child of strength, child of waters, etc., where child means not necessarily descendant in the first generation but may mean any person belonging to the 1st or second generation of descendants. *Agni* is called *tanūnapāt* (तनूनपात्) "his own child". (Cf. further in the discussion on the word *duhitṛ*),

अधि उत्त उपमश्वो नपात् मित्रातिथेरिहि । पितृस्ते अस्मि बन्दिता । Rv. 10.33.7
(Child Upamaśravas, son of Mitrātithi, mark, I am the eulogiser of your father).

एवा नपाता मम तस्य धीभिर्भरद्वाजा अभ्यर्चन्ति अँके । Rv. 6.50.15
(Thus do my sons Bharadvājas worship the gods with sacred rites and hymns).

In the following verse however the word नप्तु is clearly used to denote grand child.

इह एव सं मा वि यौष्ट विश्वमायुर्व्यच्छुत
क्रीञ्ञन्तौ पुर्वनेप्तूभिः सौदमानौ स्व गृहे । Rv. 10.85.42, Av. 14.1.22
(Dwell here, be you not parted, reach the full time of human life, with sons and grandsons sport and play, rejoicing in your own abode).

In Atharvaveda, apart from the conventional expressions noted above, the term appears but once (the verse just quoted) and means definitely "grandchild". In Atharvaveda the terms *putra* and *sūnu* are used instead of the Rgvedic *napti*, though even in Rgveda the word is rare.

नसी the feminine form is used many times but the meaning is vague. Nowhere can it be said to mean definitely "daughter" or "granddaughter". It simply means "female descendants".

रणस्य नप्त्यः । Rv. 8.2.42 (Child of pleasure).

आयुक्त सप्त शुन्धुवः सूरा रथस्य नप्त्यः । Rv. 1.50.9

(Surya hath yoked the pure bright seven, the daughters of the car).

नसी (*Napti*) is used also of hands which press the Soma juice just as ten fingers are called ten sisters, so they are probably called ten daughters which shows that the word *napti* was used for female relatives belonging to the younger generation without further differentiation.

पारि प्रियां दिवः कविर्वियांसि नप्त्योहितः । सुवानो याति कविक्रतुः । Rv. 9.9.1

नप्त्यम् (*naptym*)—European scholars take this word to be accusative singular of the fem. form **नसी**. It however seems to be a neuter form meaning child or grandchild as would appear from the following.

शासद् बहिः द्वृहितुः नप्त्यं गात । Rv. 3.31.1

(The ruling priest obtained a child from his daughter)

उत्तमनु यातुधानी स्वसारं उत नप्त्यम् । Av. 1.28.4

(May the female fiend eat her son, sister and grandchild).¹

The words for “son” were used apparently for the sons of brothers etc. There is no term for a brother’s child. In Rgveda the expression *Bhrātuh putra* (भ्रातुः पुत्र) = brother’s son, occurs once.

उदस्तभ्ना॑ पृथिवी॒ द्यामभीके॒ भ्रातुः॑ पुत्राव॑ मधवन्॒ तिन्विषाणः॑ । Rv. 10.59.55
(The earth and heaven thou settest near each other and Maghavan, modest bright thy brother’s children).²

पौत्र (Pautra) and **प्रणपात्** (*pranapāt*) are two terms used for “grandchild besides the word *naptṛ* already discussed. *naptṛ* in later literature, and in the modern dialects means “grandchild”. The word *pranapāt* is used once in Rgveda together with the word *naptṛ* and means “grandchild” later on the term came to mean “great grandchild”.

यस्ते श्रीगच्छो नपात् प्रणपात् कृष्णपात्यः । नि अस्मिन् दन्त्र आ मनः ।

Rv. 10.17.13

(He who is the son of Śringavīś and grandson of Kundapāyya—in him I place my thoughts).

There are other words used occasionally to denote a “child”. These are *vatsa*, *arbha*, *arbhaga* *arbhaka* and *kakutsala* (वत्स, अर्भ, अर्भग, अर्भक and ककुत्सल). All these words emphasize the age of a child.

Vatsa is used very frequently and denotes “a calf, the young one of a cow”. In a few places the word is applied to a human child also. In later literature the word is also similarly used.

क ह्यं वो निष्पमा चिकेत वस्तो मातृजनयत स्वधाम्भिः । Rv. 1.95.4

(Who of you know this secret ? the infant by his own power hath brought forth the mothers).

¹ In Marathi the three forms corresponding to *naptṛ*, *napti* and *naptym* (नप्तु, नप्ती, नप्त्यम्) are *nātū*, *nāta* and *nātavāṇḍa* (नातू, नात and नातवंड).

² No new word is coined for this relationship either in later Sanskrit or in the modern dialects. The words in the modern dialects are all derived from the Sanskrit *Bhrātṛja* or *Putra* (son). Thus Bhatījā and Bhatīji (भतीजा-जी) in Hindi, Bhatrijō (भतीजो) in Gujarati. The original classificatory use of the word *Putra* seems to have been retained in the Marathi words *Putaṇyā* and *Putanī* (पुतण्या-पुतणी) derived from *putra* or its Marathi equivalent *Puta* (पूत).

अर्भ-अर्भक-अर्भग. The Indogermanic root is *orbho* = orphan, from which are derived the german words “Erbe” = orphan (therefore a successor); old german - *arpeo* or *erbo* = child, orphan, successor.

In Rgveda and Atharvaveda *arbha* everywhere means “small, weak”; and is used in opposition to the word *maha*=big, great.

अरेपसा तन्वा शाशदाना नार्भात् इष्टते न महो विभाती । Rv. 1.124.6.
(Proud of her spotless form she brightly shining turneth not from the high (महो) nor from the humble (weak-अर्भात्)).

यतो दृष्टं यतो धीतं ततस्ते निर्द्वयामसि ।

अर्भस्य तृप्रदंशिनो मशकस्य अरसं विषम् ॥ Av. 7.56.3

(Whetever bit or sucked your blood we summon thence away from thee; the ineffectual poison (अरसं विष) of the little (अर्भस्य) sharply stinging gnat.

अर्भक (*arbhaka*) or अर्भग (*arbhaga*) besides meaning weak or small also means “a small child”. In Rv. 1. 116. 1 it seems to have retained the original meaning “orphaned child”.

यौ अर्भगाय विमदाय जायां सेनाञ्जुवा न्यूहतु रथेन । Rv. 1.116.1
(Who, (the Aśvins) in a chariot rapid as an arrow brought to the orphaned Vimada, a wife).

The same Aśvins, it should be remembered were prayed to by Ghōṣā to bring her a husband. Ghōṣā pleaded that she was without kin (*anāpi*) and relations (*ajnū*) and that the Aśvins should take care of her as the parents of a child. So instead of translating the word *arbhaka* by the word ‘weak’ it would be much better to translate it by the word ‘orphaned’.¹

नहि वो अस्ति अर्भको देवासो न कुमारकः । विश्वो सन्तो महन्त इद् । Rv. 8.30.1
(Not one of you, ye Gods, is small, none of you is a feeble child. All of you are truly great).

मानो महान्तं उत मानो अर्भकं मानो वहन्तं उत मानो वक्ष्यतः मा नो हिसीः
पितरं मातरं च — Av. 11.2.29

(Harm not the grown ups, nor little ones from us, not one who bears us, nor our future bearers, neither our mother nor father).

¹ Is Marathi पोर-पोरके the same word? The word has the same double meaning i. e. (1) a small child, (2) a child which has lost its father, mother or both. Especially the old German form ‘*arpe-erbo*’ suggests it.

अर्मक् and महार् are used in the above two verses from Rv. and Av. to mean small children and adults like the contrasting Marathi terms पोरे, थोरे ; धाकटी, मोटी.

The word *kakutsula* (ककुत्सल) is used only once and seems to mean 'an infant in arms'.

असो हा इह ते मनः ककुत्सलमिव जामयः । अभि एनं भूम ऊर्णहि । Av. 18.4.6.
(Let thy mind rest here. As a woman an infant, do thou wrap him (the dead), O Earth.)¹

Three more words are found, which denote a child, a male child. They all have however a special meaning and are in the nature of adjectives used substantively. These are *anyodarya* (अन्योदर्य), *anyajāta* (अन्यजात) and *kūnīna* which is the same as *agruvāḥ putra* (कानीन or अग्रुवः पुत्र).

अन्योदर्य—born from another womb.

अन्यजात—Born of another.

The two words occur in an interesting context in Rgveda. They occur in the 4th Hymn of the 7th Mandala.

ईशो हि अग्निः अमृतस्य भ्रोः ईशो रायः सुवीर्यस्य दतो मा त्वा वयं सहसावः

अवीरा मा अप्सवः परिषदाम मा अदुवः । Rv. 7. 4. 6

परिषद्यं हि अरणस्य रेकणो नित्यस्य रायः पतयः स्याम । न शेषो अग्ने अन्यजातः

अस्ति अचेतानस्य मा पथः विहृक्षः । Rv. 7.5.7

नहि ग्रभाय अरणः भुजेवः अन्योदर्यः मनसा मन्तवा उ । अधा चिद् ओकः उनर् इह

स एति आ नो वाजी अभीषाक्ष एतु नवः ॥

Agni is the lord of *amṛta* in abundance (अमृतस्य भ्रोः). Agni is the lord of the gift of wealth and valour. May we not sit round you, O victorious God (मा त्वा सहसावन् परिषदाम्) without progeny (अवीरा), without food (अप्सवः) and without gifts (अदुवः) Rv. 7. 4. 6.

"To be avoided (परिषद्य)² is the wealth of the stranger (अरणस्य रेकणः). Let us be lords of our own (नित्यस्य रायः) wealth. O Agni,

¹ The Hindi word Kākule (काकुले) in the line 'मेरे काकुले बालोंको तुम ना छेडो' and the Marathi words कुकुलं or कुकुले seem to contain the same root as Vedic Kakutsala.

² परिषद् to sit round. परिषद्य—potential participle. The meaning given by Grassmann and Böhtlingk is 'to be got by trouble'. Nirukta however gives the above meaning i. e. "to be avoided" the form परिषद्य past. passive participle occurs in the Pratisākhya of Atharvaveda where the meaning "lost" is given.

no son is he who is born of others. Do not shut the path of the unthinking (This is said of the singer himself who calls himself a fool and prays God that the way to get a child may not be barred to him) Rv. 7. 4. 7.

A stranger, however loved but born of another is not to be thought of as fit to be taken or adopted. Indeed he, the stranger child goes back to his own home. Therefore let a new victorious hero come to us (let a son be born to us anew) " Rv. 7. 4. 8.¹

The verses definitely show a dislike of adopting strange children. Though the very dislike proves that the custom of adoption existed in Rgvedic times as is also evident from the Sunaśṣepa story.

The word कानीन (*kānīna*), the child of a *kanā*, an unmarried girl, occurs in Atharvaveda 5.5.8

सिलाची नाम कानीनो अजब्धु पिता तत् ।

(*Silāci* by name, thy father, O Goatbrown, is a maiden's son). here a potent medicinal climbing-plant called *Silāci* is said to have sprung from the son of an unmarried woman.

There are two references in Rgveda to a child of a maiden. In the following two verses reference is made to a case in which Indra rescues such a child and brings it glory.

वशीमिः उत्रमधुवो अदानं निवेशनात् हरिव आ जभर्थ । Rv. 4.19.9

(Lord of bay steeds thou broughtest from the anthill the unwedded girl's son whom ants were eating).

उत्त्वं उत्रमधुवः परावृक्तं शतक्रतुः । उक्थेषु इन्द्र आ भजत् । Rv. 4.30.16

(So Indra, Lord of Powers, caused the unwedded girl's son, the castaway, to share the lands). The adjective *parāvṛktā* is significant. Such a child had no legitimate place in the society.

¹ The singer of the hymn is Vasiṣṭha Maitrāvaraṇi, whose only son (according to Puranic tradition), Sakti was killed by a demon. And he is praying for an own offspring to continue the line. The Puranic tradition says that a posthumous child was born to Sakti's wife some years after Sakti's death. Probably it was Vasiṣṭha's child. Is that why he asks Agni not to bar his way even though it be a fool's way ? (अ चेनानस्य मा पथः वि दुःः ।). One thing certain, that rather than adopt a strange child, it was sought to have one's own child by whatever means (whether customary or extraordinary).

(b) Female:—

The words for female descendants are very few as compared to the numerous words for a male child.

कना, कन्या, कन्यना and **कन्यला** all mean a young maiden.

The words appear to be derived from the root **कन्** (*kan*) meaning “fresh sprung” and applied to the young one of all animals. The word does not occur in either book, but its comparative and superlative forms are both used in Vedic as also in later literature. They are **कनीयस्** (*kaniyas*) and **कनिष्ठ** (*kanisṭha*). Just as many words for son are derived from words meaning small (**तुत्र**) or little (**तन**), so these words are all derived from **कन** meaning “a little one”.¹

Like the word **तन** for son, the word **कना** is used both adjectively as also substantively.

उनस्तद् आ दृहति यद् कनायाः दुहितुः आ अनुभतं अनर्वा । Rv. 10.61.5

(The irresistible [god] drew forth again that which was introduced into his young (small) daughter).

Here *Kanā* (कना) is an adjective of *Duhitṛ* (दुहितृ).

अथा गावः उपमार्ति कनायाः अनु श्वान्तस्य कस्य चित् परेयुः । Rv. 10.61.21

(Then went the cows forth to please the young girl and every man that lives).

Here *kanā* is used substantively to mean a girl. **कन्या** (*Kanyā*) is used in both the Vedas for a young girl of a marriageable age having lovers or just given in marriage as a bride. The word is used in one place in contrast to the word *janī* (जनी) = a married dame.

जारः कनीनां परिजनीनाम् । Rv. 1.66.4

((Agni) you are the lover of maids and husband of dames).

त्वमर्यमा भवसि यक्नीनां नाम स्वधावन् यह्यं विभर्षि । Rv. 5.3.2

(You are Aryaman in as much as you keep the secret of maidens).

¹ Though the word **कन** is not found, the word (*Kanīna*) **कनीन** = young is used in *Rgveda*. Thus—सदो ह जानो वृप्तमः कनीनः (Rv. 3. 48. 1) “ Suddenly was born the young bull ”.

अयं कनीनः ऋतुपा अवेदि (Rv. 10. 99. 10) “ (He) was known as the young guardian of the seasons ”.

एषा ते राजन् कन्या वधुः नि धूयतां यम । Av. 1.14.2

(O King Yama, this girl is your bride, shake her).

यं बाल्वजं न्यस्यथ चर्मं चोपस्तुणीथन ।

तदारोहतु सुप्रजा या कन्या विन्दते पतिम् ॥ Av. 14. 2.22

(What grass you cast down and what hide you spread under, that let the girl of good progeny mount, who finds a husband).¹

कन्यानां विश्वरूपाणां मनो गृभाय ओषधे । Av. 2.30.4

(Of the maidens of many forms seize thou the mind, Oh plant !) says a young man in a magical incantation.

Kanyā is represented as having a lover, or ornamented for a bride show.

कन्येव तन्वा शाशदाना एषि देवि देवमियक्षमाणम् ।

संस्मयमाना युवतिः पुरस्तादू आश्विर्वक्षांसि कुणुवे विभाती ॥ Rv. 1.123.10

सुसंकाशा मातृसूषेव योषा विस्तन्वं कुणुवे दृशे कम् । Rv. 1.123.11

(Like a maiden triumphing, Oh Goddess ! you go to the God who longs to win you, And smiling, youthful, shining brightly you discover your bosom before him. Fair as a young maid embellished by her mother you show your form that all may see it).

We have in these verses a vivid picture of the custom of bride-show, when the mother or other elderly women of the household ornament and dress the young girl and lead her in the presence of those who have come to view her.

नि ते नसै पीयानेव योषा मर्यायेव कन्या शश्वच्छैते । Rv. 3.33.10

(I will bend low like a nursing mother and yield myself as a maiden to her lover).

अभि त्वा योषणो दश जारं न कन्यादृष्टत । Rv. 9.56.3

(Ten maids have welcomed you as a girl welcomes her lover). [Soma welcomed by ten fingers is here compared to lover of a maid].

The forms (कन्यना) *Kanyanā* and (कन्यला) *Kanyalā* are also found.

सोमं जुषेथां युवशेव कन्यनां ॥ Rv. 8.35.5

(Accept Soma as a youth accepts a maiden).

¹ The bride is made to sit down on a seat of grass and hide with a small boy in her lap, as token of her future fertility.

दृशं दृशं आरोहासि दृष्ट्यन्तीव कन्यला । Av. 5.5.3

(Tree after tree thou climbest, like a lustful girl).

उशतीः कन्यला इमाः पितृलोकात् पर्ति यतीः अवदीक्षाम् असूक्षत स्वाहा ।
Av. 14.2.52

(Eager, these girls, going to a husband from the father's world, have let go the consecration) (*kanyā*).

Kanya, or the unmarried girl was supposed to possess some power or was supposed to be particularly auspicious as the following verses show.

यथा यशः कन्यायां यथासिन् संभृते रथे ।

एवा मे वरणो मणिः कीर्ति भूतिं नियच्छतु । Av. 10.3.20

(As glory dwelleth in a maiden and in this well-made car, so may the charm, the Varana give me prosperity and fame).

कन्यायां वचो यद्भूमे तेन अस्मां अपि सं मृज मा नो द्विक्षत कश्चन । 12.1.25
(Unite in us the splendid energy of maids, O Earth, Let no one hate us).

In Maratha country the unmarried daughter is required for certain religious performances and is said to represent Laxmi. The mystic power of a girl consists, I suppose, in her potential Mother-hood.¹

While *kanā* or *kanyā* is a general word for a 'maid', *Duhitr* (दुहित्र) is definitely a relationship term. It is used frequently in both the Vedas and means daughter. It is very probable that the word was used in a classificatory sense, it is however not possible to give examples of this usage as the relationship terminology for females is very undeveloped and crude. Throughout Sanskrit literature and in modern dialects the terms used for a man's brother's children are those derived from the words for son and daughter.²

¹ The word कना or कनी (*kanā*, *kani*) small, seems to have the same root as Marathi चिनकूऱ and चिनकी, pet names for a boy and a girl.

² In some Marathi dialects the word for daughter is धुया or धुवा as will be seen from the following proverbs. (चोले सुनेक लागे धुयेक) and (देनय चुली शारख्यो तर मायधुयो लाडख्यो). The word for a man's brother's daughter is (besides the standard पुतणी already noticed) धुवडी or ध्याडी a diminutive form of धुवा = daughter.

The word is applied very frequently to Uṣas (dawn) as the daughter of the heaven.

त्वं त्येभिरागाहि वाजेभिर्दुहितर्दिवः । Rv. 1.30.22

(Come, daughter of heaven with your prizes).

उष आ भाहि चन्द्रेण भानुना दुहितर्दिवः । Rv. 1.45.9

(Shine on us with radiant light oh dawn, daughter of the heavens).

[Day and night are called daughters of the sky and therefore sisters].

देवी दिवो दुहितरा सुशिल्पे उषासानका सदतां नि योनौ । Rv. 10.70.6

(Here in this place may be seated the two skilful goddesses, daughters of heaven, Dawn and Night).

अरुषस्य दुहितरा विरुपे सूभिरन्या पिषिशे सूरो अन्या । Rv. 6.49.3

(Unlike in form are red God's two daughters, one is the Sun's, the stars bedeck the other).

The following references in Atharvaveda are interesting.

अभ्यक्तका स्वरं कृता सर्वे भरन्ती दुरितं परोहि जानीहि कृत्ये कर्तारं दुहितेष
पितरं स्वम् । IO.1.25

(Anointed, smeared, well adorned, bearing all difficulty, go thou away : recognise, O Kṛtyā (Witchcraft personified) thy maker as a daughter her own father).¹

The following verses point out to an incestuous union between father and daughter.

शासद् वह्निः दुहितुः नन्यं गात् विद्वान् कृतस्य दीयिति सपर्यन् ।
पिता यत्र दुहितुः सेकं कृत्यन् सं शगम्येन मनसा दधन्वे ॥ Rv. 3.31.1

(The ruling Vahni, wise, respecting the laws of truth, came to a grandson through his daughter; like a father rejoicing in his daughter's pourings sped (to her) with an eager mind).²

¹ Böhtlingk and Roth (St. Petersburg Dictionary) suggest that *jñā-jan* = to know here has the biblical sense of "carnal" knowledge. The verse thus means "visit thy maker as a daughter visits her father." Cf. further verses about father-daughter relation.

² The verse describes in a poetic way the birth of Agni or Vahni (fire), who is called *Tanūnapāt* (तनूनपात्) i. e. "his own child or grandchild. 'Vahni' is one who carries the oblation and therefore the term is applicable to both

(continued on next page)

उत्तानयोः चम्बोः योनिरन्तरत्रा पिता दुहितुर्गम्य आधात् ।

Rv. 1.164.33; Av. 9.10.12

(In the womb within the two out-stretched cups, (the heaven and earth) the father set the daughter's seed).

पिता यत् स्वां दुहितरं अधिष्कन् क्षमया रेतः संजग्मानो निषिञ्चन् । Rv. 10.91.7
 (When the father (Brahman), bent on impregnating his own daughter, united with her, discharged his seed on the earth).¹

Amājur (अमाजुर), *pitrśad* (पितृष्ट) and *agru* or *agrū* (अग्रु, अग्रु) are adjectives used substantively to denote certain kinds of girls.

Amājur is a girl who has become old in her father's house. *Agru* is also applied to an unmarried girl. *Agru* means one who is not big with child, (*a + guru*), therefore " one who is not married ". Both these terms originally applied to a spinster as terms of contempt, were later, by extension, used also for bachelors. *Pitrśad* is a girl who lives with her father, i. e. an unmarried girl.

अमाजूरिव पित्रोः सचा सती समानात् आ सदसः त्वां इये भगम् । Rv. 2.17.7
 (I call on you (Indra), as an old maid living with her father

the priest and the fire and the whole paradox rests on this double meaning of the word *Vahni*. The verse seems to disclose a very immoral act on the part of the priest, an immorality, which is enhanced by the adjectives *vidvān* and *r̥tasya dīdhitin saparyan* i. e. wise and knowing the laws of truth. But this apparent immoral act resolves into a highly ritualistic act, when the following interpretation is used. *Vahni* the priest generates the fire (*nāpītya*) by quirling of the fire sticks, the *arāṇis*, which are his daughters, and his heart gladdens when soft wood-dust (the *seka*) is produced and is ignited by friction. Thus from *Vahni*, the priest, is generated *Vahni*, the fire, through the agency of the daughters, the fire-sticks. Fire thus becomes his own child or grandchild. (Cf. New Indian Ant. 1939, II, No. 2., P. 120).

¹ The word *duhitī* दुहित् does not seem to be connected with the verb *duh* (दुह्) to milk. Modern linguists do not derive the word *Duhitā* from the verb " duh ". Cultural history substantiates this modern view. Nowhere is the milking of cows mentioned as the job of the daughter of the house. Among other pastoral communities like the Todas, the Hottentots and the Masais, women-folk are not allowed to milk the cows and buffaloes. The Vedic people were also a pastoral people and no exception to this cultural feature, by which milking is the jealously guarded privilege of the males.

calls on Bhaga, from the house where a marriage is being performed).¹

अमाजुरः चित् भवथो पुं भगो । Rv. 10.39.3

This is the prayer of Ghosā the spinster, to Aśvins for a husband. She says, (you (Aśvins) are like Bhaga (the husband bringer god) to spinster).

In the following, the word is used for men, but the meaning bachelor does not seem to be necessarily intended—

मा ते अमाजुरो यथा मूर्गास इन्द्र सख्ये तावत् । निषदाम सचा सुते ॥ Rv. 8.21.1
(With a friend ship like yours, O Indra, may we not sit round this juice, like fools idling in a father's house).

Agrū is the unmarried girl (cf. above p. 89 for the "child of an unmarried girl":— अश्रवः पुत्रः).

अयम् आयाति अर्यमा पुरस्ताद् विषितसुपः अस्याः इच्छन् अश्रवै पर्ति उत् जायाद् अजानये । Av. 6.60.1

¹ Sāvana, and following him Wilson, give a different meaning to this line. Their interpretation is as follows:— As a virtuous (maiden), growing old in the same dwelling with her parents, (claims from him her support), so I come to thee for wealth." समानात् सदसः is interpreted as 'same dwelling'. Nowhere in the body of the verse is it said, that an unmarried girl claims a certain share of the father's property, but this is taken as understood and from this strange interpretation Dr. A. S. Altekar (Woman in ancient India) draws some conclusions as regards the customs of inheritance among the Vedic people.

I paraphrase the above verse as follows:—

यथा पित्रोः सचा सती अमाजूरः समानात् सदसः भर्गं इयते तथा अहं त्वां इये ।

Samāna or *Samana* is used in both Rgveda and Atharvaveda for marriage and *Samānāt Sadasaḥ* means "from a house where marriage is performed." The prayer of an *Amājur* visiting another maiden's marriage is given in Atharvaveda.

अथमत इयं अर्यमन् अन्यासां सप्तन यती । अङ्गे तु अर्यमन् अस्याः अन्याः समनमायाति ॥ Av. 6. 60. 2. (This girl, oh Aryaman, has toiled going to other girls' marriage assembly; now O Aryaman, shall other women come to her marriage assembly?).

Just as an unmarried girl pining at her father's house and witnessing others' marriages calls on Bhaga, so the worshipper calls on Indra. The old maid in a household, where the marriage assembly is come together for another's marriage, would naturally call on Bhaga. In this interpretation every word is translated according to its vedic meaning. The relation of Bhaga and the spinster is well established in many hymns in both Rgveda and Atharvaveda,

(Here comes Aryaman, with locks loosened in front, seeking a husband for this spinster, and a wife for a wifeless one).

Agru is the unmarried man.

ये अग्रवः शशमानाः परेतुः हित्वा द्वेषांसि अनपत्यवन्तः ।

ते यामुदित्य अविदन्त लोकं नाकस्य पृष्ठे अधि दीध्यानः ॥ Av. 18.2.47

(Those unmarried men assiduous, abandoning hatreds, having no progeny—they go up to heaven, have found a place and shine upon the surface of the firmament).

Pitrṣad =sitting in the father's house and therefore an old maid, occurs twice in Rgveda and once in Atharvaveda.

घोषायै चित् पितृष्टदे द्वूरोणे पर्ति ज्येष्ठन्त्या अश्विनौ अदत्तम् । Rv. 1.117.7

(To Ghosā, living in her father's house, getting on in years, ye gave a husband O Aśvins).

उदीर्घ्वातः पतिवती हि एषा विश्वावसुं नमसा गीर्भिः इके ।

अन्यां इच्छ पितृष्टदे व्यक्तां स ते भागो जनुषा तस्य चिद्धि ॥

Rv. 10.85.20 (Av. 14.2.33)

(Rise up from hence : this maiden has a husband. I laud Viśvāvasu with hymns and songs. Seek another fair one, sitting at her father's house that is your natural portion. Know it).

(*To be continued*)

MISCELLANEA
NOTES ON INDIAN CHRONOLOGY

By

P. K. GODE, M.A.

XLII

THE ANTIQUITY OF THE LOST MEDICAL TREATISE
BY KHĀRAÑĀDI IN THE LIGHT OF THE LEAF OF
THE KHĀRAÑĀDA-NYĀSA NEWLY DISCOVERED
AT GILGIT

In my recent article¹ on the “*Nature and Contents of a Lost Medical Treatise by Kharañāda or Khārañādi*” I tried to record some useful data² regarding this lost medical treatise from references to it by Aruṇadatta (about 1220 A. D.), by Hemādri (between A. D. 1270 and 1300), by Keśava (the father of Vopadeva) who was patronized by King Singhāna of Devagiri (A. D. 1210-1247) and by Vopadeva himself the protege and friend of Hemādri. It was also pointed out that Niścalakara in his commentary on Cakrapānidatta’s *Dravya-guṇa-Saṅgraha*³ refers to this

¹ Vide *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. IV pp. 49-62.

² I have to add the following quotations from *Khārañādi* given by Śrī Kaṇṭhadatta in his commentary called *Vyākhyākusumāvali* or *Siddhayoga* (Anandashram Series, Poona, 1894) :—

Page 38—“तथा च खारणादिः :—

पिप्पली पिप्पलीमूलचव्याचित्रकनागरम् ।
कोलमात्रोपयोगित्वात्पञ्चकालकसंज्ञितम् ॥ इति ”

Page 112—“ यदाह खारणादिः :—

रसशेषे हितः रसग्रा धर्मान्तु लघु भोजनम् । इति ”

Srikaṇṭhadatta mentions अरुणदत्त, हेमाद्रि (pp. 111, 165, 17, 4). Dr. Hoernle (*Osteology*, p. 17) states that on the Pathology (निदान) of Mādhava there exists a commentary called मधुकोश which is a joint-work of विजयरक्षित (C. 1240 A. D.) and his pupil श्रीकण्ठदत्त.

There is a Ms of *Vyākhyākusumāvali* at the B. O. R. Institute (No. 375 of 1882-83). The ख Ms used for the Anandashram Edition of this work was dated Saka 1558 = A. D. 1636.

³ Vide folio 11^b of Ms. No. 620 of 1895-1902 in the Govt. MSS. Library at the B. O. R. Institute.

author as "Khāraṇāda." There is possibility of Niścalakara being contemporaneous with Hemādri as suggested by me in my article on Khāraṇādi referred to above. At any rate he can be assigned to a period between A. D. 1250 and 1400.¹

As regards the limit for the date of Khāraṇādi I suggested that he must be earlier than A. D. 1150. Since I sent the above paper to the press I received the issue of the *Journal of the Mythic Society*,² Bangalore containing the "Report on the Gilgit Excavation in 1938" by Pt. M. S. Kaul, M.A., M.O.L. of Srinagar (Kashmir). This report contains a leaf from the Ms of *Khāraṇādanyāsa* (Plate 1442 A and its Devanāgarī transliteration on pp. 9-10). Pt. Kaul states that this is a "commentary on a work of Khāraṇāda on Medicine giving portion of a chapter relating to pregnancy. Both the text and commentary are known at present in and through quotations only, though the former seems to have been as old as the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* of Vāgbhaṭa. The text is quoted by Aruṇadatta in his commentary on the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* at page 249 and by Vācaspati³ in his commentary on the *Mādhabanidāna* at page 50."

¹ Vide p. 61 of *Poona Orientalist Vol. IV.*

² Vol. XXX, No. 1 (July 1939) pp. 1-12. Pt. Kaul took his Excavation Party to Nawapura in Gilgit (228 miles from Srinagar) on 4th August 1938; some mounds excavated at this place brought to light stūpas of clay, birch-bark Mass., ivory rings, brass rings, one ear pendant, some pieces of gold, red and white pearl beads, birch-bark amulets, coral beads, a gold coin, iron and brass pieces, a gold-plated amulet with the image of the Lion-head on both sides.—The Mss. excavated include (1) a work called *Saṅghātасūtra* in Buddhist Sanskrit (about 80 leaves), containing on the inside of the top cover paintings of Purīśa or Lord of Gilgit and his minister. There are two ladies seated in front of them (2) Mss. in fragments not yet deciphered and (3) Torn leaves from the Ms. of *Khāraṇādanyāsa*, a leaf from a collection of fables, a leaf from the Buddhist Sanskrit Grammar and leaves of a prose composition in Sanskrit recording an incantation to protect the king of Gilgit (whose full name is "Sāhānuṣāḥi Navasurendra Virkramāditya Nandideva) and his queen Anaṅgadevī. According to Pt. Kaul this Manuscript hoard is "not later than the ninth century A. D.", "nor can it be earlier than the seventh century A. D.". One of the Mss. records the year of copying in the "Newari Era which starts with 878 A. D. ".

³ Vide p. 17 of *Osteology* by Dr. Hoernle, Oxford, 1907. Dr. Hoernle assigns Vācaspati to "about 1250 A. D." Vācaspati states (v. 5 of Intro.) that his father Pramoda was chief physician of the court of Mahamada Hammira that is of Muhamad Ghori who reigned in Delhi from 1195 to 1205 A. D.

The reference to Kharanāda by Vācaspati (about 1260 A. D.) pointed out by Pt. Kaul is contemporaneous with that by Hemādri and does not help us in deciding the exact antiquity of this author. Pt. Kaul remarks that the text of Kharanāda is "as old as the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* of Vāgbhāṭa." As the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* is assigned by scholars¹ to "eighth or ninth century" the limit for Kharanāda's date would not be earlier than say A. D. 700. Let us, however, see the effect of Pt. Kaul's discovery of the leaf of *Kharanādanyāsa* on the date of Kharanāda's text itself.

Pt. Kaul states that the Manuscript hoard found by him at Gilgit *cannot be later than 9th century A. D.* and at the same time *cannot be earlier than 7th century A. D.* If these chronological limits are based on correct data we can represent the relative chronology of the text and *commentary* on Kharanāda's work as follows :—

Text	As old as <i>Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya</i> (Pt. Kaul's view)	8th or 9th century A. D. i. e. between 700 and 900 A. D.
Ms of <i>Nyāsa</i> commentary	Not later than 9th cen- tury and not earlier than the 7th century	Between 600 and 900 A. D.
Date of composition of <i>Nyāsa</i>	Earlier than the above Ms	Earlier than or con- temporaneous with the period A. D. 600 to 900

I am not aware of the evidence, which leads Pt. Kaul to think that Kharanāda's treatise "seems to have been as old as the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*" but presuming that his statement is substantiated by reliable evidence it is likely to conflict with the date of the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* given by Dr. Hoernle if we accept the date of Ms of the Kharanāda *Nyāsa* (represented only by one discovered leaf) as suggested by Pt. Kaul.²

¹ Ibid. p. 16.

² *Jour. Mythic Soc.* (July 1939) p. 8— Pt. Kaul's arguments regarding the age of the MSS. discovered by him are :—

(1) The script of the MSS has a close affinity with the Sāradā script as used in the Avantivarman's inscription at the Mārtanda temple. Hence the MSS are not later than the ninth century A. D.

(continued on next page)

In the present stage of the data gathered so far I am inclined to fix A. D. 650 as the terminus before which Kharanāda may have composed his work and about 850 A. D. as the terminus before which the *Nyāsa* was composed.

As regards the exact name of Kharanāda we have already recorded the following forms :—

(1)	खरनाद	according to	Arunadatta
(2)	स्वरनाद	"	Niscalakara
(3)	स्वरणादि	"	Arunadatta (in one place)
(4)	स्वारणादि	"	Hemādri
(5)	Do	"	Keśava
(7)	Do	"	Vopadeva
(7)	Do	"	Śrīkanṭhadatta

This testimony divided between the forms खरनाद and स्वरणादि has not much determinative force as almost all the above authors belong to the 13th century. The Gilgit fragment of स्वारणादन्यास furnishes a better and decisive testimony on this point as the text of this commentary uses the form स्वारणाद in the following 1st line of Plate 1442-A :—

“स्वारणादन्या॒ ते शुण्डिकागभविकान्ति शारीरं समाप्तम् ॥”

The form स्वारणाद used by the commentator is more akin to खरनाद used by Niscalakara and supports the uniform use of the form स्वारणादि adopted by Keśava, Vopadeva and Hemādri.

It is a happy coincidence that by the time my article on Khāranādi is prepared and published in Poona, Pt. Kaul should bring forth a leaf of a commentary on Khāranādi's work buried for centuries several feet under ground at Gilgit. I look forward to the day when both the text of Khāranādi's treatise, which was extant, say between 600 and 1300 A. D. as also the newly discovered *Nyāsa* commentary represented by a single leaf would see the light of the day. For the convenience of scholars interested in this problem, I am reproducing in the appendix the contents of Plate No. 1442-A containing the portion of the *Khāranādanyāsa*.

(2) The MSS are not earlier than 7th century A. D. during which Strong *than-bisam-Sgam-po* is said to have been converted through the influence of his two wives one Nepalese and the other Chinese to Buddhism and to have sent his minister Thonmi to India who after studying the current Indian alphabet prepared the Tibetan character on the model of the Śrādā alphabet and introduced the same in Tibet. etc.

APPENDIX

(Contents of torn birch-bark leaf of *Khāraṇādanyāsa* transliterated in Devanāgarī characters by Pt. M. S. Kaul).

1st Line न्धन्ति तच्चिमित्त आत्मनो मुख्यजात्यादिलम्भ इति ॥ ॥
खारणादन्यासे खुण्डिकागर्भावक्रान्तिं शारीरं समाप्तम्^१ ॥ खुण्डिका-
पहति गर्भावक्रान्त्योरेक एव सम्बन्धः द्वयो

2nd Line रपि गर्भाक्रान्त्यारुद्यस्यैकस्यैवार्थस्याभिधानात् ॥ उत वा पूर्वेध्याये
मात्रादिसंभवो गर्भं हत्येतावदुक्तं न तु युक्तिर्दर्शिता कथा युक्त्येत्यत इह
सा युक्तिरुच्यते नां हि समुदयद्युगपद्मभसंभवः

3rd Line तस्य युक्तिं प्रवक्ष्यामि प्राक् च तां भाषितामपीति ॥ तस्य गर्भे
अनुप्रबेशो गर्भावक्रान्तिः महस्वं चास्य गर्भावक्रान्त्यस्य विस्तरनिर्देशात्
त्यहं रजस्वला भूत्वा पुराणरुचिरे स्रुतं इत्यादि अनिन्द्रिते हि पराणे रुचिरे
न^२ भवति ग

4th Line र्भापतिः स्रुतेषि चाशुद्धज्ञाता छ्रीपुंसा युक्ता भूता प्रसववद्भमें
न विन्दति विकृतं वा जनयत्यत उभयमुक्तम् मनस्विनी सौमनस्याद्वर्भ-
मादत्ते छ्रीग्रहणं वन्ध्या निषेधकं एकान्तररनिदेशः शुक्रस्य

5th Line यार्थं आप्यायितं हि शुक्रं गर्भाय भवति निरन्तरमणेन तु
अल्पशुक्रत्वाचोत्पयते गर्भो विकृतो वा जायते ॥ नवाहं गर्भभागिनी
यस्माच्चावाहानि ऋतुः तस्माच्चेषु गर्भे भजते तत्रायुग्मे

6th Line ष्वहस्सु छ्री युग्मेषु तु पुमान् भवेत् युग्मायुग्मत्वं चतुर्थदिवसात्
प्रभुति चतुर्थषष्ठाष्टमा युग्मा दिवसाः पञ्चमसप्तमनवमा अयुग्माः इदानीं
यथा युक्त्या पुंसा युक्ता छ्री गर्भं विन्दति सा यु

7th Line किरभिधीयते शुद्धे स्थिते वीजभूते रक्तं इत्यादि छ्रिया रक्ते
शुद्धे अदोषदुष्टे वीजभूते वीजावस्थे गर्भजननं समये गर्भाशये
योनावाशये वा दुष्टे । आशये गर्भस्थानम् तस्मिन्नित्यंभूते रक्ते

^१ The *Carakasamhitā* (*Sārīrasthāna*) has two chapters on गर्भावक्रान्ति viz. Chap. III (खुण्डिका ग०) and Chap. IV. (महनी ग०) (vide N. S. Press Edn. Bombay, 1922 pp. 305 and 313) Cakrapāṇidatta explains the term 'खुण्डिका' as 'अल्पः' in contrast with महनी (p. 305).

^२ Cf. *Carakasamhitā* (p. 313) — "गते पुराणे रजसि नवे चावस्थिते शुद्धस्तात् छ्रियमध्यापन्नयोनिशोणितगर्भाशयासृतमनीमाचक्षमहे"

8th Line योन्याशये च यदा श्रीयोगात् पुंसा हर्षच्युतं हर्षणोदीरितं शुक्र-
मदुष्टं शुद्धं युज्यते संसृज्यते हर्षः प्रतीति विद्युकशोनितसंयोगे बद्धं
संयुज्यते ॥

9th Line योग्यानुरूपया कृत्योपेतैः समन्वितं युक्तम् सुकर्मफलेन
तम् ॥ तद्रक्तं मातुः सम्बन्धात् च पितुः सम्बन्धात् च शुक्रं सत्त्वं चात्मा
चेतना धातुः

N. B.—Chapter II of the *Sārirasthāna* of the *Aṣṭāṅgasamgraha* of Vāgbhaṭa I is devoted to गर्भवक्रान्ति and it begins :—

“अथातो गर्भवक्रान्तिं शारीरं च्यास्यास्यामः । इति ह स्माहुरात्रेयादयो महर्षयः”.

Chap. I of the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* of Vāgbhaṭa II begins in an identical manner. [Vide pp. 12 and 98 of the Poona Edn. of the *Aṣṭāṅgasamgraha* edited by Pt. R. D. Kinjavadekar (1938) with Indu's Comm. *Śāsilekhā*]. Regarding “Pregnancy” vide pp. 47, 48, 96 and 152 of *History of Aryan Medical Science* by Thakore Saheb of Gondal, London, 1896.



¹ Cf. *Carakasamhitā* (p. 313)—“तया सह तर्चो भूतया यदा पुमानच्यापन्नबीजे
मितीमाषं गच्छति, तदा तस्य हर्षादुदीरितः परः शारीरधात्वात्मा शुक्रभूतोऽङ्गादङ्गात् सम्बन्धति,
etc.

REVIEWS

'SAFAR DUSARI'-in Marathi, by Raja Raghunathrao Shankarrao Pandit, Pant Sachiva of Bhor ; pp. 14 and 187 : Price (not stated).

This work contains an account of the travels of the Rajasahab of Bhor in several parts of India. The distinguished author has already brought out one volume in Marathi about his travels in India when he was an heir-apparent to the *gadi* of Bhor. The present work deals at length with the famous buildings of Delhi such as the *Divan-i-am* and *Divan-i-khas*, the Kutubminar, with Haridwar and the holy Ganges, Lucknow, Cawnpore, Allahabad or Prayaga, Benares and Sarnath, Bhopal and Sanchi. The Rajasahab undertook this journey so far back as 1911 at the time of the Delhi Durbar. But in order that the account of Delhi may not appear antiquated and out of date, he has added an appendix (A) of about forty pages on the importance and architectural beauty of modern Delhi. In another appendix (B) of five pages the princely author has given a brief account of his work as Representative member in the chamber of Indian Princes from 1924 to 1930. This appendix, though unconnected with the main subject of the work, is interesting in its own way. Prof. Datto Vaman Potdar, whose labours for collecting the materials of Maratha History and depositing them in the Bharata-Itihasa-Samshodhaka Mandal at Poona are well-known throughout India, has written an appreciative foreword to the work. More than half of the main work is taken up by the description of Delhi and its important architectural remains. At the beginning of the work there is an excellent coloured photograph of the Rajasahab in all the splendid robes and panoply of his high office. There are over forty excellent photographs of famous buildings and places of historic and religious interest. The type is elegant and the general get-up of the work is attractive. The book is written in a simple narrative style and is free from poetic fancies or laboured rhetoric. It is somewhat unfortunate that owing to his exalted position and delicate relationship with

the paramount power, the Rajasaheb does not allow us to have a peep into his heart and that we have to remain content with the somewhat formal and stereotyped remarks about the British connection and the doings of high British functionaries.

The correction of proofs leaves much to be desired. Even on a cursory reading several misprints have been noticed such as those on pp. 17, 90, 91, 92, 93, 123. On p. 40 reference is made to a Jaina temple, but the image therein is said to be that of Buddha.

The literature on travel in Marathi is rather meagre. The Rajasaheb has made a very substantial contribution to that department by his present work and all lovers of Marathi will feel grateful to him.

P. V. Kane



ZEN BUDDHISM AND ITS INFLUENCE ON JAPANESE
CULTURE (Illustrated edition) by Daisetz Teitaro
Suzuki, published by the Eastern Buddhist Society, Otani
Buddhist College, Kyoto (1938).

This is volume no. 9 in the Ataka Buddhist Library and is the outcome of lectures given by Prof. D. T. Suzuki in England or America or to Western audiences in Japan. The title of the book really represents the first part only, to which the second part is added on "Zen Buddhism and the Japanese Love of Nature." The author of this book is already well-known to English readers by his several works on Zen Buddhism, the cause of which seems to be served by the author, as a propagandist, with a missionary zeal.

The author seems to make out that everything that is good in Japanese Culture is, in one way or the other, related to Zen Buddhism. Zen is the Japanese corruption of Sanskrit 'dhyāna'. This form of Buddhism was brought by Bodhidharma from Southern India to China in the 6th century and was introduced into Japan by a Buddhist priest named Eisai or Yosai, in the twelfth or early thirteenth century of Christian era. The Author contends that the Samurai or the 'Warrior' class of Japan and his cult of the double sword (the larger one to fight with the enemy and the smaller one to destroy himself, if and when necessary), the metaphysical foundation given to the study of Confucianism in Japan, the tea-cult, the love of nature, have all been considerably influenced by the spirit of Zen. The simple, direct, self-reliant and self-denying ascetic spirit of Zen Buddhism taught the warrior not to look backward when once the course is decided upon. This trait of the Japanese character was well observed in the last Russo-Japanese war and is noticeable also in the present Chinese "incident". Another Japanese trait of the 'reserve' may also be ascribed to Zen, which "disdains logic and remains speechless when it is asked to express itself" (p. 5). It is strange to note, remarks the author, that though Zen despised learning as it upheld the intuitive mode of understanding (p. 112).

it was responsible for encouraging the study of Confucianism, for promoting the art of printing, for bringing the Chinese culture to Japan, for the beginnings of the theatre, landscape-gardening, flower-arrangement, tea-cult, etc. (p. 101). In fact, even education was in the hands of the Zen monks till Restoration in 1868. The Chapter on Tea-cult is very interesting and indicates the religious background behind the scrupulous care taken by the Japanese men and women in ceremonial tea. The author suggests that if tea symbolises Buddhism, wine may be said to stand for Christianity (p. 124). The rich and the poor—all come on a level round the tea-utensils and all earthly distinctions are lost. "By tasting tea one's mouth is cleansed and by handling tea-utensils one's sense of touch is cleansed" (p. 135). Flower-vase is an essential feature of Japanese tea-room which is all to be equipped artistically. The Japanese love of nature, says the author, owes much to the presence of Mt. Fuji, which must be seen and cannot be adequately described or painted. The author remarks, in the strain of Ruskin, that Zen is not at all in sympathy with the modern materialistic inroads upon nature and the idea of conquering nature is abhorrent to it. It likes to respect and love Nature. He also raises the issue that instead of raising the so-called standard of living, 'will it not be far better to elevate the quality of living?' (p. 224). The mountain, flowers, pine-trees, moon-light are all loved by the Zen monks. Nay, like the Jains of India, they would go even to the length of loving lice, fleas, mosquitos etc. One incident of a Zen monk, Ryokwan by name, is that he was often seen giving a sun-bath to the lice (p. 248).

The author, indeed, needs to be congratulated in making the book a very interesting reading. Let us hope that the author will give a few more books of this type and shed more light upon the life of Zen monks in the cloisters of Japan.

P. V. Bapat

Kamalā-Vijaya—a Nāṭaka, Umā's mirror—Umādarśa Stutikusumāñjali, Sarvasamavṛttaprabhāva by C. Vankaramanaiya.

These four works in different forms of literature are indeed an evidence of the learned writer's versatility of genius which is equally at home in drama, lyric, narrative and metrics.

His rendering of Tennyson's play 'The Cup' is not so much a translation, as a '*refacimento*' of the material of the play into a drama '*Kamalā-vijaya*' which conforms with the norm of a classical Sanskrit Nāṭaka. Death itself is transcended in the final scene when the hero and heroine are shown as crowned in heaven, where conquering human woe and jealousy, they live a life of Elysian bliss.

Umā's mirror is an allegorical narrative of the deluded soul's quest of the ultimate truth of the universe. That truth is not to be sought in the world of phenomena—it is to be sought within ourselves. The verses are very smooth and flowing, and occasionally rise to lyric heights.

The Stutikusumāñjali is a collection of fifteen devotional songs and lyrics which impress one with the religious fervour of the poet.

The Sarvasamavṛtta prabhāva—a work on metrics—is modelled on Kedārabhaṭṭa's Vṛttaratnākara, and as remarked by Dr. Shamasastri, 'the last chapter on the process of calculating the number of various metres of various Gana-syllables is more lucid than Kedāra's Prastara in his Vṛttaratnākara. All the wonderful variety of metres is illustrated by simple and charming verses of the author's own composition which give proof of his mastery of the "Daivi Vāk".

C. R. Devadhar

Correspondence

EXTRACT from Viśvakarma and his Descendants by Alfred Edward Roberts, M.R.A.S., (Ceylon Branch) Page 10

The name "Jagadguru" the teacher of the world, is a distinction to which the people of Viśvakarma Caste alone are entitled (Winslow's Dictionary). When the world-famed Śāṅkarācārya of Travancore, the founder of the Advaita School of Philosophy, which is Buddhism in disguise, halted at Masulipatam he styled himself "Jagadguru". The Devakammalars of South India, who were very jealous of their title, incensed at an apparent impostor trying to assume what was their own exclusive property, questioned his right to the distinction, when the celebrated philosopher sang the following lines :—

" Acharyo Sankaro nama
" Twashta putro nasanyasa,
" Viprakula gurordiksha,
" Visvakarmantu Brahmana."

" My name is Śāṅkarācārya, I am a descendant of Twaśhter. I have come here to teach the Vipras the right of wearing the sacred thread I am a Brahman of the Viśvakarma Caste."

(Śāṅkara Vijaya)

This is irrebuttable proof that the people of the Viśvakarma Caste are Brahnans.

* * * * *

I shall be highly thankful if any of the readers of the Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute were to enlighten me as to where can I get a copy of the Śāṅkara Vijaya which contains the sloka referred to in this extract.

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[PART II

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY AND KINSHIP USAGES IN RGVEDA AND ATHARVAVEDA*

BY

IRAWATI KARVE

3. Terms for collaterals.

(a) Male :—

Just as there are no words for uncles and aunts so also there are no terms for cousins. The concept of cousinship is entirely absent not only in Vedic literature but also in classical Sanskrit literature and in the modern dialects. In the modern dialects according to marriage practices, all cousins are either called brothers and sisters or, in provinces where cross-cousin marriage prevails, the parallel cousins are called brothers and sisters and the cross cousins are called affinies or mates of each other.

From the Vedic data it appears that besides the word (भ्रतु) (*bhrātṛ*) for brother, and *svast* (स्वसृ) for sister, there was at an earlier date a word which was used for both brother and sister. The word denoted the relationship between the two; this word is *jāmi* (जामि).

जामि: सिन्धुनां भ्रतेव स्वसाम् । Rv. 1.65.7

([Fire] is the *jāmi* of rivers, as a brother is that of sister).

संगच्छमाने युवती समन्ते स्वसारा जामी पित्रोरपस्थे ।

.... यावा रक्षतं पृथिवी नो अभ्वात् ॥ Rv. 1.18.5

* Continued from the Annals Vol. XX Part (i) p. 96.

(Moving together, youthful, with their ends meeting the two *jāni* geschwister (brother and sister), lying in their parents' lap—The Heaven and Earth! protect us from danger).

ते मायिनो भविरे उपचेतसे जामी सयोनी मिथुना समोक्षसा । Rv. 1.159.4
(They (the Rbhūs) of surpassing skill and wise have measured out (laid out) the pair of *jāmis* having the same birth and the same house).

Sayoni is the same as *sahodara* being born of one person, geschwister.

In the above two verses the Heaven and Earth are called brother and sister and each other's *jāmi*.

The word *jāmi* is used also for the milk which is mixed with the Soma. The milk or water being thus the *jāmis* of the Soma juice.

ते जानत स्वमोक्षं सं वत्सासो न मातृभिः । मिथो नसन्त जामिभिः ॥
Rv. 8.72.14

(They know their own abode like calves with their mothers; they mix together with the *jāmis*).

दिवा पृथिव्या मिथुना सबन्धु यमीः यमस्य विभूयात् अजामि । Rv. 10.10.10
(With heaven, with earth paired, of near connection—Yami must bear the un*jāmi*-like conduct of Yama).

Jāmi is thus used of brother and sister together, of the pair Heaven and Earth, of Soma juice and milk mixed together and lastly when Yama refuses the request of marriage of Yami, she calls his conduct not *jāmi*-like.

Jāmi (जामि) was not only a reciprocal term for brother and sister but connoted also a mutual obligation—the obligation to marry.

The word *jāmi* is applied to women relatives or sisters. The word also has the connotation of relationship in general.

यते माता यते पिता जामिर्भ्राता च सर्जतः ।
प्रत्यक्षेवव्व भेषजं जरदृष्टि कृणोमि त्वा ॥ Av. 5.30.5

(What thy mother, what thy father, sister (*jāmi*) and brother shall infuse—heed thou the opposing remedy; I make thee one who reaches old age).

असूर्या यन्ति योषितो हिरा लोहितवाससः ।
अभ्रातर इव जामयः तिष्ठन्तु हतवर्चसः ॥ Av. 1.17.1

(These women that go, veins with red garments, like brother-less sisters—let them stop with their splendour smitten).

In many passages *jāmi* is used adjectivally. Besides *jāmi svasārā* (जामि स्वसारा) quoted above there are the following examples.

सं द्वयीभिः स्वसृभिः क्षेति जामिभिः । Rv. 9.72.3

(Now he makes his home (क्षेति) with twofold *jāmi* sisters [fingers of the two hands in which the Soma plant is pressed for juice]).

In other passages the ten fingers are designated just by the word *jāmi* without adding the substantive स्वसृ.

एष वृषा कनिकदत् दशभिः जामिभिः यतः ।

अभि द्रोणानि धावति । Rv. 9.28.4

(This bull bellowing, directed by the ten sisters, runs towards the vats).

It appears that *jāmi* was originally applied to geschwister, as mates. Then it came to mean "sister" and later stood for general relationship. The original meaning of "mates" seems to be preserved in the word *jāmātṛ* (जामातृ) and *jāmāi* its modern equivalent, meaning the mate of the daughter of the clan.¹

Bhrātṛ भ्रातृ is the word most used to designate a brother. There is no ambiguity in meaning as with the word *jāmi*. Just as gods are addressed as father and mother, so they are also called each other's brothers or the brothers of the worshipper.

समानो वां जनिता भ्रातरा युरे यमो इहेह मातरा । Rv. 6.59.2

(Common father have you (Indra and Agni), you are twin brothers. Your parents pervade all (इहेहमातरा = whose parents are here and there i. e. everywhere. They are यावायथिशी *Dyāvā-prithivi*, the Heaven and Earth)).

अग्ने मन्ये पितरं अग्ने आर्वि अग्ने आतरं सद्मित् सत्सायम् । Rv. 10.6.3

¹ Walde and Pokorny derive the word *jāmi* from *jam* (जम्) "to marry". They repudiate Grassmann's derivation by which *jāmi* is given as equivalent of *Yama* (यम्) i. e. twins. The usage of the word in the numerous quotations in Rgveda does not give it the significance of the word यमो (*Yamau*), except in the quotation जामा स्वसाग. But seeing that the ten fingers and *Soma*, who have no common origin, are also called *jāmis*, the translation of *jāmi* by the word "mate" seems to be more adequate. The derivation of Walde and Pokorny (Cf. Wörterbuch der Indogerm. Sprache, p. 574) seems to be correct.

(Agni I deem my father, Agni my kinsman, Agni (my) brother and my friend for ever).

वस्यां इन्द्रासि मे वितुः उत भ्रातुः अभुञ्जतः ।

माता च मे उदयथः समा वसो वशुवनाय राधसे ॥ Rv. 8.1.6

(O Indra, you are richer than my father and my niggardly brother. You and my mother seem alike in giving wealth and presents) [Is this the plaint of a younger brother ?]

मा भ्रातुरुर्गेऽनृजोऽक्षणं वेः । Rv. 4.3.13

(O Agni, do not go after us (present) for the sins committed by our dishonest brother).

यस्वा भ्राता पतिः भूत्वा जारो भूत्वा निपयते ।

प्रजां यस्ते जिघांसति तमितो नाशयामसि । Rv. 10.162.5

(He who sleeps with you, becoming (taking the form of) your brother, husband, lover and kills your progeny—him I kill).

ज्येष्ठ. The superlative of the adjective ज्यायस् (*jyāyas*) is sometimes used in such a way that it becomes an independent term for the eldest in the house. Probably it was used for the eldest brother.

नो भ्राता नो ज्येष्ठः प्रथमो विवोचति । Rv. 10.11.2; Av. 18.1.19

(Our brother, our eldest shall speak first).

The brother is Agni, he is also the eldest and therefore fit to give advice. The other epithets of Agni are Dampati and Viśpati. He is the leader.

शीरं पावकशोचिषं ज्येष्ठो यो दमेषु आ दीदाय दीर्घश्वृतमः । Rv. 8.102.11

(Hot, brilliant-flamed, shone (Agni), the most famous, the eldest in the household).

ज्येष्ठेन सोतर् इन्द्राय सोमं वीराय शक्राय । भर आ पिबन् नर्याय । Rv. 8.2.23

(O presser, offer Soma first (*jyesṭhena*) to Indra, hero, Śakra, the friend of man, that he may drink).

Jyestha was the first born and therefore should be served first. He is first among gods though called young at other places.

मा ज्येष्ठं वधीद् अयं अग्न एषां मूलवर्णात् परि पाहि एनम् । Av. 6.112.1

(Agni, may he not kill the eldest of them. Protect him from uprooting).

काले तपः काले ज्येष्ठं काले ब्रह्म समाहितम् । Av. 19.53.8

(In time is fervor, in time is priority (ज्येष्ठम्), in time is the Brahman collected).

अजाता आसन् कृतवः अथो धाता वृहस्पतिः ।

इन्द्राग्नी अभिना तर्हि कं ते ज्येष्ठं उपासत । Av. 11.8.5

(Unborn were the seasons, likewise Dhātar, Br̥haspati, Indrāgni, the two Aśvins, at that time. Whom did they worship as the eldest (the chief)?)

The chieftainship, the highest position in the household, seems to have been held by the eldest brother, who was called *jyestha*. The word was used substantively of the eldest brother.¹

A special term is found in Atharvaveda for an elder brother, who is unmarried, while the younger brother is married. The term is परिवत्त (parivitta). In later literature परिविण्ण or परिवित्त is the over slaughtered elder brother, the परिवेत् being reserved for the younger brother who marries even though the elder is unmarried. The girl so married is called परिवेदनीया.

In Atharvaveda it is not clear who is meant by *parivitta*, whether the elder brother or the younger brother. Sāyana takes the latter meaning, which seems to be justified by the context. It must also be remembered, that in Atharvavedic time the word need not necessarily have meant what it connoted at a later date.² The word occurs in Av. 6.112.3. The hymn is a magical incantation to remove the guilt of the *parivitta* and his parents for perpetrating the sin of such a marriage. The younger brother who marries, and the parents who allow such a marriage, are active sinners, while the elder brother is the passive sinner or rather a sufferer in a sin committed against him. The hymn opens with the words.

मा ज्येष्ठं वधीत् अयम् अग्न

(O Agni may he not kill the eldest.) the 2nd and 3rd verses being :

उन्मुच्च पाशान् त्वमन् एषां त्रयस्तिभिः उत्सिता येभिः आसन् ।

स ग्राह्याः पाशान् वि चृत प्रजानन् पितापुत्रौ ब्रातरं सुश्व सर्वान् । Av.6.112.2

येभिः पात्रौ परिवित्तो विविद्धः अङ्गे अङ्गः आपृत उत्सितश्च ।

नि ते मुश्चतां विमुत्रो हि सन्ति भ्रूणादिं पूर्वद् दुरितानि मृश्व ॥ Av. 6.112.3

¹ In modern usage the word *jetha* (जठ), which is the same as Sanskrit *jyestha* (ज्येष्ठ) is used for the eldest brother in Gujarati and Hindi. The wife of this brother is called *jethani* (जेठाणी).

² ज्येष्ठेऽनिर्विष्टे कनीयान् निर्विपन् परिवेत्ता भवति । परिविण्णो ज्येष्ठः । परिवेदनीया कन्ना । परिवायी दाता । परिकता याजकः । ते सर्वे पात्रातः ।

(Do thou, O Agni, loosen up the bonds of these, the three with which these three were tied up ; do thou, knowing, unfasten the bonds of *grāhi*; free all—father, son, mother. With what bonds the *parivitta* is bound apart tied up in each limb—let them be released, for these are releasers; wipe off the sins, O Pūṣan, on the embryo-slayer).¹

From the 1st line and the lines that follow, it appears that *parivitta* is the younger brother who has married before his elder and is trying together with his parents—the co-sinners—to expiate for the sin committed in stealing the birth-right of the eldest brother.

भ्रात्र and **भ्रातृत्व** are two terms used often in both the Vedas for brotherhood. These terms also occur with the terms सहयो, सखित्वं and सखित्वन् and seem to mean friendship.

नाहं वेद भ्रातृत्वं नो स्त्रसुत्वं इन्द्रो विदुराङ्गिरसश्च घोरः । Rv. 10.108.10
(Neither brotherhood nor sisterhood do I know. The dread Angirosas and Indra know them)

क इन्द्रस्य युज्यं कः सखित्वं को भ्रात्रं वष्टि कवये क ऊती । Rv. 4.25.2
(Who seeks Indra's bond, friendship and brotherhood, who, protection from the Wise (Indra) ?)

मर्ताश्चिद् वो तृत्वो रुक्मवक्षसः उप भ्रातृत्वमायति । Rv. 8.20.22

O dancers, with breasts adorned with gold, even mortals attain your brotherhood)

This last quotation implies that brotherhood is between equals, but in the case of Maruts even the mortals may attain their brotherhood.

भ्रातृत्य (*bhrātṛtya*) is a word very often used in Atharvaveda and occurs once in Rgveda in the negative form : भ्रा (a-bhrātṛtya). The meaning of the word is not quite clear. It is used in most places to denote a hated rival within the clan. It may mean in some places either brother or cousin.

अभ्रातृत्यो अना त्वं अनापि: इन्द्र जनुषा सनादासि । युधेत् आपित्वं इच्छुसे ॥

Rv. 8.21.13

(O Indra from all ancient times you are without brothers or kin. You seek comradeship (kinship) in war)

¹ Wiping off one's sin on somebody else is an idea which occurs frequently in Av. In the marriage ceremony the sins of the bride and the groom are wiped off on the best man. Cf. further in सम्बल (*Sambala*).

Compare this with Ghoṣa's description of herself अनापि: अज्ञा: असज्ञात्या अमतिः etc. where the word *anāpi* occurs with *ajñā* and *asajñātyā*. It would appear that अभ्रातृव्य is the same as अभ्रात्र or असज्ञात्य (*abhrātṛvya* = *abhrātra* = *asajñātya*) and means brother or a kinsman, as in a patriarchal clan all males of the same age-group would be brothers.

तक्मन् भ्रात्रा बलासेन स्वस्त्रा कासिकया सह ।

पास्ता भ्रातृव्येण सह श्च अनुमरणं जनम् ॥ Av. 5.22.12

(O fever, together with brother *Balāsa* and sister cough (*kāsikā*), together with cousin (? *bhrātṛvya*) scab, go to yon foreign people)

In this verse the word *bhrātṛvya* seems to be used with a definite relationship-content. *Bhrātṛvya* was a kind of brother, that is a cousin and as there was always rivalry between the children of different brothers as regards chieftainship, marriage and inheritance, the word came to stand generally for rival kinsmen. With the exception of the two quotations above, *bhrātṛvya* everywhere means rival in Atharvaveda, being an equivalent of *sapatna* (सप्तन); and there are many magical performances for the destruction of the *bhrātṛvyas*.

रुश्वते अस्य अंग्रियो भ्रातृव्या य एवं वेद । Av. 8.10.8

(Cut off is his unfriendly rival who knows this)

भ्रातृव्यक्षयणमसि भ्रातृव्यचातनं मे दाः । Av. 2.18.1

(Rival-destroying art thou; expulsion of rivals mayest thou give me)

अधायतामापि नह्या मृखानि सपत्नेषु वज्रं अर्पय एतम् ।

इन्द्रेण दत्ता प्रथमा शतौदना भ्रातृव्यद्दनी यजमानस्य गातुः । Av. 10.9.1

(Fasten thou the mouths of the mischiefmakers; bring this thunderbolt upou our rivals; given by Indra, first, with a hundred rice dishes, cousin slaying (rival slaying), the success of the sacrificer (art thou))

It is remarkable that nowhere in both the Vedas is the dual of the word *bhrātṛ* used to denote a brother and a sister together. The word *svast* is however so used.

(b) Females:—

Two words are used to denote sister. They are *jāmi* and *svast* (जामि and स्वस्त). It was pointed out (cf. p. 79 above), that the words तन, तनय, सुनु (*tan*, *tanaya*, *sūnu*) are used adjectivally as also substantively. It was also pointed out that the word *kanyā* (कन्या)

or *kanā* (कना) was used as an adjective of the word दुहित् (*duhitr*) and that it also means a female child. A parallel usage is found as regards the word *jāmi* and *svast*. *Jāmi* is used as an adjective of *svast* and in other passages it means *svast* or sister.

संगच्छमाने युवतीं समन्ते स्वसारा जामीं पित्रोरुपस्थे ।

अभिजिग्रन्तीं भुवनस्य नाभिं यावा रक्षतं पृथिवीं नो अभ्वात् । Rv. 1.105.5
(Faring together, young, with their ends meeting the two *jāmi* geschwister, in their father's lap, kissing (inhaling), the centre of the world; let Heaven and Earth protect us from danger)

हिन्दवन्ति सूरमुक्षयः स्वसारः जामयः पतिश्च । महां इन्द्रं महीयुवः । Rv. 9.65.1
(The great (*mahiyuvaḥ*), shining (*usrayah*) *jāmi* sisters send forth the Sūra Indu, their great lord). Said of the ten fingers which press the Soma juice.

ऋतस्य योनौ अशयत् दद्यनाः जामीनां अग्निः अपसि स्वमृणाम् । Rv. 3.1.11
(Friend of the house, Agni lay within the lap of order, in the *jāmi* rivers' service).

In all the above quotations *jāmi* is an adjective of the word *svast*.

भगस्य स्वसा अस्णस्य जामिः उषः सून्ते प्रथमा जरस्व । Rv. 1.123.5

Sister of Bhaga, *jāmi* (sister ?) of Aruna, first among all, sing thou, O beautiful Uṣas

प्रारथ धारा दृहतीः असृग्नं अक्तो गोभिः कलशान् आ विवेश ।

साम रुणवन् सामन्यो विपश्चित् क्रन्दनं पति अभि सख्युः न जामिस्म ।

Rv. 9.96.22

(His mighty flow hath streamed forth; he has entered balmed with milk, the goblets; singing the psalms, well skilled in song, a chanter, he comes roaring, as one who comes to his friend's sister)

यत्ते माता यत्ते पिता जामिर्भाता च सर्जतः । Av. 5.30.5

(What thy mother, what thy father, your sister and your brother have concocted--)

In this verse the word *jāmi* can also be taken as an adjective of the word *bhrātā*, in which case, it is to be noted, that the word *jāmi* is used as an adjective of the word *svast* as also of the word *bhrātr*.

Jāmi in dual means brother and sister taken as a pair. cf. p. 110 above.

प्रियं दुर्घं न काम्यमजामि जाम्योः सच्चा । Rv. 5.19.4

(I bring as it were the longed for milk dear to the pair (*dyāvā-prthivi* = Heaven and Earth))

The word *jāmi* is used for a brother, a sister and for both together. It is also used as an adjective of the words *bhrūtā* (brother) and *svasā* (sister).

It seems that *jāmi* was a common term for brother and sister, it was later used for sister and then came to connote "a woman" and lastly it became a term for general relationship, though its original meaning of "mate" seems to be preserved in the word *Jāmātṛ* (son-in-law).

In post-Vedic times the word *jāmi* was used to denote female relations of a man—especially his wives and daughters-in-law, though in a few places it may include such relations as daughter and sister. This post-Vedic usage also confirms the conjecture that *jāmi* meant a "mate".

The word *jāmi* for sister came into disuse and the word oftenest used in both the Vedas is *svast* (स्वस्त्र).

The dawn and night are called each other's sisters,

स्वसा स्वस्त्रे ज्यायस्यै योनिमरौङ् अपैत्य अस्याः प्रतिच्छेष्ट ।

त्युच्छन्ति रश्मिभिः सूर्यस्य आज्ञि अङ्गके समनगा इव वा । Rv. 1.124.8

(The sister makes place for the elder sister and looking at her goes away. Shining forth with sunbeams, she smears herself with ointment like women going to a marriage ceremony).

किं ब्राता सत् यद् अनाथं भवाति किमु स्वसा यक्षिकीतः निगच्छात् ।

कामं ऊता बह्ये तद्रस्पामि तन्वा मे तन्वं सं पिष्टिथ । Rv. 10.10.11

न वा उ ते तन्वा तन्वं सं पघुच्यां पापमादुर्यः स्वसारं निगच्छात् ।

अय्येन मत् प्रभुदः कल्पयस्व न ते ब्राता सुभगे वष्टि एतद् । Rv. 10.10.12

(Yami—what (use) is a brother when there is no protector or what (use) is sister when destruction impends? Impelled by desire I prize this much; mingle thou thy body with me.)
(Yama—I may not mingle my body with thine. They call him wicked who should approach his sister; with another than me do thou plan your joy. Thy brother wants not that, oh! fortunate one).

पूषणं तु अजाश्वं उपस्तोषाम वाजिनम् । स्वसुयों जार उच्यते । Rv. 6.55.4

(Pūṣan, whose horses are goats, the mighty, who is called the lover of his sister—him we laud)

भद्रो भद्रया सच्चमानः आगात् स्वसारं जारो अभ्येति पञ्चात् । Rv. 10.3.3

(The blessed one came with the blessed lady; the lover (Agni) follows his sister (Uṣas).)

Pūsan is a form of the sun, so is Agni and as they follow the dawn they are called her lovers and she their sister.

The word *sasṛ* means brother and sister in dual.

Cf. above p. 115 स्वसारा जामी (Rv. 1.185.5)

समान्या नियुते द्वे अन्ते ध्रुवे पदे तस्थृः जागरुके ।

उत स्वसारा युवती भवन्ति आहु ब्रुवाति भिशुनानि नाम । Rv. 3.54.7

(Partners ! though parted, with far distant limits, on one firm place both stand watchful ; and being young for ever the two brother and sister speak to each other).

Special mention is made of brotherless sisters or women,

अभ्रातेव पुस एति प्रतीची गतारुक्ष इव सनये धनानाम् । Rv. 1.124.7

(She goes towards men like a brotherless sister, mounting her car as it were to gather riches)

असूर्या यन्ति योषितो हिरा लोहितवाससः । अभ्रातर इव जामयः तिष्ठन्तु हतवर्चसः ।

Av. 1.17.1

(These women who go about clad in red garments like sisters without brothers (gadding about) let these stand still with their glory destroyed)

4. Terms for affinies

(a) Lover and bridegroom :—

The following terms are used for lover or bridegroom. *Marya* (मर्य), *jāra* (जार), *vara* and *jyeṣṭhavara* (वर, ज्येष्ठवर), *vadhūyu* (वधुयु) and *sambhala* (सम्भल). The word *marya* is used once as an adjective of *pati* (पति = husband) and the word *sambhala* appears to have the connotation " best man " in some verses.

The word *jāra* occurs in connection with the word *kanā* and *yogā*. It means lover. It does not seem to have the meaning bridegroom, though in one verse it is found juxtaposed to the word *vara*.

आ जामिः अत्के अव्यत भुजे न पुत्रः औण्योः ।

सरन् जारो न योषणां वरो न योनिमासदम् । Av. 9.101.14

(The friend has wrapped him in his robe as a son is wrapped in his parents' arms. He went like a lover to a dame or like a groom to his nuptial bed).

जारः कनीनां पतिर्जनीनाम् । Rv. 1.66.8

([Agni] is the lover of maidens and the husband of dames.)— The contrast is between the word *jāra* and *pati*, and *kanā* and *jani*. *Jani* is a grown up married woman and *kanā* is a young unmarried girl. *Jāra* was never the husband.

प्रयन्तं इत् परि जारं कनीनां पश्यामासे मोपनिपथमानम् । Rv. 1.152.4

(We look on him the lover of maidens, always advancing, never falling down). The sun is called the lover of Uṣas, his own sister and as such is also called स्वसुः जारः (cf. above p. 117) Rv. 10.3.3 and 6.55.4-5.

अभि त्वा योषणो दश जारं न कन्धानूषत । Rv. 9.56.3

(Ten maids long for you as a girl longs for her lover)—said of the Soma plant and the ten fingers.

अभि गावो अनूषत योषा जारमिव प्रियम् । Rv. 9.32.5

(The cows have gone to him with longing as a young woman goes to her darling lover)

The feminine form *jāriṇī* (जारिणी) occurs but once in Rgveda. Neither the word *jāra* nor *jāriṇī* are found independently in Atharvaveda. There is only one place in which the word *jāra* is found in Atharvaveda but it is a hymn identical to one in Rgveda.

यद् आदीध्ये न द्विषाण्येभिः परायद्यथः अव हीये सत्यिथः ।

न्युपाश्व बश्वो वाचं अक्रत एभि इत् एषां निष्कृतं जारिणीव । Rv. 10.34.5

(When I resolve not to play with these, I am left alone by my friends who depart; when the brown ones (dice) thrown on board have rattled, like a fond maiden, I seek the place of meeting)

Neither the word *jāra*, nor the word *jāriṇī* have any bad meaning attached to them. Even the gods are called the *jāras* of this or that. In one place the *Rtvik* (ऋत्विक) is called the lover of the sacrifice—ऋत्विजं अधरस्य जारम् । Rv. 10.7.5. It seems as if young maidens had lovers before they married. When the custom fell into disuse the word also disappeared (in Atharvaveda), to appear later as a word of abuse.

Only in one place does the word *jāra* appears in connection with a married woman.

यस्ते भ्राता पतिर्दूत्वा जारो दूत्वा निपथते ।

प्रजा यस्ते जिधीसति तमितो नाशयामसि । Rv. 10.162.5

(Who sleeps with you in the form of your brother, husband or lover, and kills your progeny, him I drive from here)

Marya also means lover, but in some places it seems to have the meaning bridegroom.

स्त्रीं देवीं उपसं रोचमानां स्त्रीं न योषाम् अभ्येति पञ्चात् । Rv. 1.115.2

(As a lover follows a young woman so does the sun follow the shining goddess Usas)

मर्य इव युवतीभिः समर्पति सोमः कलशे शतयाम्ना पथा । Rv. 9.86.16

(As a lover comes hastening to the loved ones so does Soma hasten to the goblet with a hundred roads)

मर्यो न शुश्रः तन्वं मुजानः अत्यो न सृत्वा सनये धनानाम् ।

रुपेव यथा परि कोशं अर्पन् कनिकदत् चम्बोः आ विवेश । Rv. 9.96.20

(Like a fair youth decorating his body, a courser rushing to the gain of riches, like a steer to the herds, so hastening with a roar he has passed into the pitcher). Here the reference is to the young men in a bridal procession who adorn their body.

मर्यश्रीः स्पृहयद्वर्णः अग्निः नाभिसृष्टे तन्वा जर्खुराणः । Rv. 2.10.5

(Agni, with bridegroom's splendour and lovely colour may not be touched when his form is fury)

कियती योषा मर्यतो वधूयोः परिप्रीता पन्यसा वायेण । Rv. 10.27.12

(How many a maid is loved by her suitor on account of the splendid gifts ?)

[In this verse *marya* is synonymous to *vadhūyu* (वधूयू) = bride-wisher, suitor].

स वितरादत्विष्ये सृजेथां माता पिताच रेतसो भवाथः ।

मर्य इव योषां अथि रोहय एनां प्रजां कृष्णाथां इह पुष्पतं रथिम । Av. 14.2.37

(Unite, you two parents, the two things that are seasonal. Ye shall be mother and father of seed. As a male, a female (a lover, a maid) do thou mount her. Make progeny, enjoy wealth here).

In this passage from Atharvaveda *marya* seems to have been used to denote a male. The word *maryaka* is used in this sense in Rgveda.

परि ध्वजन्ते जनयो यथा पतिं मर्यं न शुन्ध्युं मघवानं ऊतये । Rv. 10.43.1

(As wives embrace their lord, the comely bridegroom, so they compass Maghavan about that he may help). In this passage *marya* (मर्य) is synonymous to *pati* (पति) (husband).

The word *vara* is used for lover or bridegroom. It seems to have been applied to all unmarried young men of the bridegroom's party, the groom himself being distinguished as the best or the oldest *Vara* (ज्येष्ठवर). It seems to have been used in a classificatory sense. In some verses the *jyestha vara* is the bridegroom, in others he is called *Vadhūyu*, to distinguish him from the *varas*.

यत् मन्युः जायां आवहृत् संकल्पस्य युहात् अधि ।

के आसन् जन्या॑ के वरा॑ क उ ज्येष्ठवरः अभवत् । Av. 11.8.1

When Manyu carried his wife from the house of Samkalpa, who were the bridesmen, the grooms and the eldest groom (bridegroom)?

तपश्चैव आस्तां कर्म च अन्तर्महति अर्णवे ।

ते आसन् जन्या॑ ते वरा॑ ब्रह्म ज्येष्ठवरः अभवत् । Av. 11.8.2

(Tapa and Karma were at the bottom of the great ocean. They were the bridesmen, they were the grooms and Brahma was the eldest groom (bridegroom))

सोमो वध्युः अभवत् अश्विनास्ताम् उमा वरा॑ । Rv. 10.85.9

(Soma was the bridegroom (vadhiyu) while the two Aśvins were the grooms (vara))

भगस्य नावमारोह पूर्णी अनुपदस्ततीम् ।

तप्या॑ उपप्रतारय यो वरः प्रतिकाम्यः । Av. 2.36.6

आ कन्दय धनपते वरं आमनसं कृष्ण ।

सर्वं प्रदक्षिणं कुरु यो वरः प्रतिकाम्यः । Av. 2.36.5

(Ascend thou the boat of Bhaga, full, unfailing ; with that cause to cross over a suitor who is according to thy wish)

(Shout to him, O Lord of Riches ; make a suitor hither-minded. Turn the right to every one who is a suitor according to thy wishes)

In these verses—a magical incantation for finding a husband for a maid—the word *vara* stands for a groom or a husband.

आ नो श्रग्ने सुमति संभलो गमेत् इमां कुमारीं सह नो भगेन

जुषा॑ वरेषु समनेषु धल्युरोषं पत्या॑ सौभगमस्तु अस्यै॑ । Av. 2.36.1

(Unto our favour, O Agni, may a wooer come, to this girl, along with fortune ; enjoyable [is she] to suitors, agreeable at festivals ; be there quickly, good fortune for her with a husband).

The word *vara* is used in plural. The one who becomes the husband is *jyesṭha vara*.

वरा॑ इव एतद् रैवनासो हिरण्यैः अभि॑ स्वधाभिः॑ तन्वः॑ पिपिष्मे॑ । Rv. 5.60.4

(They, like groomsmen, sons of wealthy houses have with their golden *svadhā* decked their bodies) Like *marya* the *varas* also deck themselves gaily.

Vadhiyu (वध्यु) is synonymous with the word *vara* (वर) and *marya* (मर्य)

एरोळाशं च नो घसो जोषयासे गिरश्वनः वध्यूरिव योषणाम् । Rv. 3.52.3

(Consume our sacrificial cake, accept our hymns of praise like a lover who accepts his bride)

Sambhala (सम्भल) is a word used for one who comes to woo the bride on behalf of the suitor or *vara*. He is the go-between, when a marriage is being arranged. During the marriage ceremony he is made to bear the brunt of the sins of omission and commission.

आ नो अग्ने सुमर्ति संभलो गमेत् । Av. 2.36.1

(() Agni let a wooer come to favour us)

ब्रह्मणस्पते पतिमस्यै रोचय चारु संभलो वदतु वाचमेताम् । Av. 14.1.31

(O Brahmanaspati make her like her husband, (may the husband shine for her). May the *Sambhala* speak sweetly to her)

यत् दुष्कृतं यत् शमलं विवाहे वहतौ च यत्

तत् सम्भलस्य कम्बले सूजन्ते दुरितं वयम् । Av. 14.2.66

(Whatever sin, whatever uncleanliness in the ceremony or in the bridal procession, that sin do we wipe on the blanket of the *sambhala*)

संभले मलं सादयित्वा कम्बले दुरितं वयम्

अधूम यज्ञियाः शुद्धाः प्रण आर्यूषि तारिष्ठ । Rv. 14.2.67

(Having settled the defilement on the *sambhala*, the sin on the dress, we have become worshipful and cleansed. May he extend our lifetime)

While the word *vara* is used for all men in the bridal train—all men belonging to the family of the groom—the word *janya* (जन्य) appears to be used for the relatives of the bride. *Janya* means belonging to the family, thus Agni is called जन्यः (Rv. 10.91.2.) but as opposed to *varas* it may have the meaning of bride's relatives.

जनं लृण्डानो जन्यो न शुद्धवा रेणुं रोरिहत किरणं ददश्वान् । Rv. 4.38.6

(gay like a bridesman, wearing a garland, sniffing the dust camping the rein that holds him)

के आसं जन्याः के वराः । Av. 11.8.1

ते आसं जन्याः ते वराः । Av. 11.8.2

(Who were the bridesmen, who were the groomsmen ? They¹ were the bridesmen, they were the groomsmen)

¹ Both the words वर्हडी and जन्यस् are found in the Marathi *Varhāḍī* (वर्हडी) and *janyos* or *janwas* (जानोसा or जानवसा), *Varhāḍī* are people in a marriage party, irrespective of whether they be bride's or groom's relations. Primarily it means those on the groom's side. *Janyos* is the place where the marriage party puts up. This again is used for both the houses (जन्य + घर),

(The words *sajanya* and *pratijanya* (सजन्य and प्रतिजन्य) are used as opposite pairs denoting, "one's own", and "that belonging to a rival." अप्रतितो जयति सं धमानि प्रतिजन्यानि उत या सजन्या । Rv. 4.50.9. (Unopposed he conquers the wealth of the strangers (rivals) and of his own subjects)

जन्य and सजन्य are kinsmen. प्रतिजन्य are enemies. In special cases *janya* is used for bride's kinsmen. Nowhere does it mean non-kinsmen as Grassmann suggests.¹

Though there are so many words for a lover or a bridegroom there is only one word for the bride. It is *vadhū* (वधू). *Vadhū* is one who is carried away from her father's house to that of her husband.

मा नः पाशं प्रति सुचः यरुः भासे लघुः भव ।

वधुमिव त्वा शाले यत्र-कामं भरामसि । Av. 9.3.24

(Fasten thou not on us the fetters. A heavy burden, become thou light. O house, like a bride, we carry thee where we will). [Said to a house which is given as a gift to Brahmans].

या कल्पयन्ति वहतौ वधुमिव विश्वरूपां हस्तकृतां चिकित्सवः ।

सा आरादृ एहु अवलुदाम एनाह । Av. 10.1.1

(She who the adepts have adorned like a bride in a bridal procession, she of many forms, handmade, let her go far off; we push her away) [spoken to a doll used in witchcraft.]

या ओषधयो या नयो यानि क्षेत्राणि या वना ।

ताः त्वा वधु प्रजावर्तीं पत्ये रक्षन्तु रक्षसः । Av. 14.2.7

(What herbs, what streams, what fields, what forests there are—let these O bride, defend from the demon thee, possessing progeny, for thy husband)

ये पितरा वधुदशा इमं वहतु आगमन् ।

ते अस्यै वधै संपत्यै प्रजावत् शमं यच्छतु ॥ Av. 14.2.73

(Those ancestors who have come to this wedding, in order to see the bride, let them bestow on this bride, with her husband protection accompanied by progeny).

¹ Grassmann gives the meaning "belonging to other people" to the word *janya* in two or three places. This interpretation is however not required in these places.

When a bride is chosen, the blessing of the ancestors is required.¹

In later literature as also in modern usage the term *vadhū* means not only bride but also daughter-in-law. She is spoken of as the bride of this or that family or clan. In a famous passage, Sītā is reminded of the greatness of the house in which she is married (तेषां वधुस्त्वमासि नन्दिनि पापित्रानां येषां कृलेणु सविता च गुरु-वर्यं च. O joy-giver you are the *vadhū* (bride-daughter-in-law) of those kings whose household is presided over by the sun and myself). This meaning also seems to have been attached to the word *vadhū* as found in *Rgveda* and *Atharvaveda*. In the marriage hymn in both the books :

युहान् गच्छ युहपत्नी पथासो । Av. 14.1.20 Rv. 10.85.26

(Go to the homesteads. Be the mistress of the house).

सुमङ्गली प्रतरणी युहाणां सुशेवा पद्ये श्वशुराय शम्भूः ।

स्योना श्वश्रै प्र युहान् विश्व इमान् । Av. 14.2.26

(Of excellent omen, extender of houses, very propitious to thy husband, bringing blessing to thy father-in-law, pleasant to thy mother-in-law, do thou enter these houses).

The *vadhū* is asked to enter the houses of the clan in which she is given in marriage. She is not only the *vadhū* of the clan, but is the *vadhū* of the many *varas* who came to take her away, and is the wife of the *jyeshtha vara*.

There is only one word for husband, and that is *pati* (पति). It means ruler or husband.

क्षेत्रस्य पते मधुमत्तं ऊर्मी धेनुरिव पयो अस्माष्टु धुक्ष्व । Rv. 4.57.2

(Oh lord (spirit) of the field, as the cow yieldeth milk so pour for us the wave that beareth honey (sweetness), [Hymn chanted at the first ploughing of the season].

वास्तोप्ते प्रतिजानीहि अस्मान् रथा वेशो अनमीको भवानः । Rv. 7.54.1

(Lord of the house acknowledge us, give us happy entrance and let us be without disease) spoken to the spirit of the house before entering it.

¹ In the Maratha country, there is a ceremony called "seeing the face of the daughter-in-law" (*suna-mukha*=*सुनमुख*). When the bride is brought home, she is taken to the elders of the bridegroom and there the parents and uncles and aunts of the groom view the bride and bless her. The above reference in Av. seems to point to this custom when not only the living elders but also the dead ancestors are supposed to come to view the bride and bless her.

यो विश्वस्य जगतः प्राणतः पतिः यो ब्रह्मणे प्रथमो गा अविनृद्धत् । Rv. 1.101.5
 (He who is the master of all the living (breathing) world, who first obtained cows for the Brahman).

In the same manner different gods are called the master of wealth or the world. *Pati* also means husband.

घोषायै चित् पितृष्वदे दुरोणे पतिं जूर्यन्त्या अश्विनौ अदत्तम् । Rv. 1.117.7
 (To Ghosā, aging in her father's dwelling, ye gave a husband Aśvins).

तद् तु वामजिरं चेति यानं येन पती भवथः सूर्यायाः । Rv. 4.43.36
 (Well known is that quickly moving chariot, whereby you became the husbands of Sūryā)¹.

Pati Vedana (पति वेदन) obtaining of a husband is an important magical performance in order to secure a husband for a girl. Aryaman, Bhaga and Dhātar are the deities that help a maiden to get a husband.

अयमायाति अर्यमा तुरस्ताद् विषितस्तुः
 अस्याः इच्छन् अग्न्यै पतिं उत जायां अजानये । Av. 6.60.1
 (Here comes Aryaman with his hair hanging disarranged in front. He comes wishing for a husband for this spinster and a wife for the bachelor).

भगस्य नावमारोह पूर्णामतुपदस्वतीम् ।
 तथा उपप्रतारय यो वरः प्रतिकाम्यः ॥ Av. 2.36.5
 (Mount this boat of Bhaga—The boat which is full and never failing, and with it cause to float here a husband (a suitor) whom you love).

अमाज्ञुरश्चित् भवथो युवं भगो । Av. 10.39.3
 (You two (Aśvins) are like Bhaga to an unmarried girl). Ghosā, an old maid, calls on Aśvins to help her find a husband and says that they are like the god Bhaga (the usual husband bringer) to her).

सोमज्ञुष्टं ब्रह्मज्ञुष्टं अर्यमां संभृतं भगं
 धातुदेवस्य सत्येन कृषामि पतिवेदनम् । Av. 2.36.2
 (Fortune enjoyed by Soma, by Brahma brought together by Aryaman ; with the truth of divine Dhātar (in truth by Dhātar.) I perform the *pati vedana* (husband finding ceremony)).

¹ In Rgveda there are many references to Sūryā having been won by Aśvin twins. Only in the *Sūryā Sūkta* Rv 10.85., is there a reference to Sūryā being given in marriage to Soma. It is a late version, but even there occurs the verse सोमो वधूयुः अमष्टत् अश्विनरत्नाम् उभा वराः ।

The word पति (*pati*) is found compounded with other words. *viśpati*, *jāspati*, *gr̥hapati* and *dampati* are important among such words.

Jāspati (जास्पति) was the chieftain of the family or clan. *Viśpati* (विश्पति) was the chieftain, probably not of one family but of many families and clans connected together. Though Agni as the lord of the house is called *Viśpati*.

देवान् वा यच्चक्षुमा कच्चिददागः सखायं चा सदमिज्जास्पति चा ।

इयं धीर्भूया अवनायमेषां यावा रक्षत् पृथिवी नो अभ्वात् ॥ Rv. 1.185.8

(What sin we have at any time committed against gods, friends, our house's chieftain, thereof may this hymn be expiation. Protect us Heaven and Earth from danger).

विश्पति: "Lord of the clan or household", is applied to men as well as gods. In Atharvaveda the word denotes the headman or king of a clan, elected by the clan-members.

His duties and privileges can be seen from the following.

रेश्मिते युवती विश्पते: सन्

Said of Agni the household fire.

(Agni) licks (kisses) the young women, being the lord of the household).

सस्तु माता सस्तु पिता सस्तु श्वा सस्तु विश्पतिः ।

ससन्तु सर्वे ज्ञातयः । Rv. 7.55.5

(Let the mother sleep, let the father sleep, let the dog sleep, let the master of the clan (head of the clan) sleep, let all the clans-people sleep).

This is the prayer of a lover come to meet his beloved at night).

अयमस्तु धनपतिर्धनानां अयं विज्ञां विश्पतिरस्तु राजा । Av. 4.22.3

Let this man be the lord of riches and let this king be the head of clans).

Gṛ̥hapati (गृहपति) is the master of a single household. Not every man was a *gṛ̥hapati*. The eldest married male was apparently the *gṛ̥hapati*. Agni (fire) as the lord of the household is also called *gṛ̥hapati*.

1) घृष्णपति, 2) घृष्णनी. 1) The master of the household, said of men and gods. (Agni), 2) The mistress of the household.

घृष्णपति like विश्पति was a position to be coveted. Not every married man was a घृष्णपति or विश्पति.

प्रातः प्रातर्घृष्णपतिर्नो अग्निः सायं सायं सौमनसस्य दाता । Av. 19.55.4

(Morning after morning Agni is the lord of our house. Evening after evening giver of well-willing).

अभि नो नर्य वसु वीरं प्रयत दक्षिणं । वामं गृहपतिं नय । Rv. 6.53.2.

(Bring to us wealth as wished by men and a master of house who is manly and freehanded with the liberal meed)

पुष्टिरसि उष्टुचा मा समाहि गृहे धी गृहपति मा रुण । Av. 19.31.13

(You are prosperity. Anoint me with prosperity. You are household sacrificer ; make me master of the household)

सोदक्रामत् सा गार्हपत्ये न्यक्रामत् । गृहमेधी गृहपतिर्भवाति य एवं वेद ।

Av. 8.10.2

(She ascended, she descended in the household fire. He who sacrifices in the house (गृहमेधी) becomes the master of the house when he knows this)

पत्नी त्वमसि धर्मणा अहं गृहपतिस्तव । Av. 14.1.51

(Thou art my wife according to the ordinance ; I am the lord of your house)

एहपति seems to be a term narrow in its application. It seems to mean the master of one household, and corresponds to the word *dampati* (दंपती) treated later.¹ Both जास्पति and विश्वपति are wider in their application. जा means family or people or kindred, and seems to refer not merely to one household but to a group of kindred comprising many households. विश्व means people in general, though formerly it must have been a small community of families related by blood or marriage ties.

In Atharvaveda and Rgveda the hymns, which are prayers on behalf of a chieftain or a king, contain the word *vispati* विश्वपति or *visāmpati* विश्वांपाति, who is also called *rājan* राजन् or king in some hymns. From विश्वपति or जास्पति the head of one clan or family, seems to have evolved the leadership of several clans विश्वांपति, राजन् or ग्रामणी²

Dampati (दंपति) is the same as *Gṛhapati* and means primarily the lord or master of the house. It came to mean in dual, also the married pair, husband and wife. In Atharvaveda, as in later literature, the word is found to mean husband and wife."

¹ गृहान् गच्छ गृहपत्नी यथासो points out to a more extended control of *grhapatī*.

² In later literature the king is always associated with his *amātya* or minister. In Rgveda the word *amātya* means "one who belongs to the household." स नो वेदो अमात्यम् अग्नि रक्षत् सर्वतः । Rv. 7.15.3 (On all sides, may Agni guard our household folk). Possibly one of the *amātyas* became an adviser of the king. In *vispati* and his *amātyas* we have the beginning of the later institution of the king and his ministers.

विश्वासां त्वं विशापति हवामहे । सर्वासां समानं दम्पति भुजे ॥ Rv. 1.127.8
 (We invoke you in order to enjoy—you the lord of all, common to all, the master of the household)

तं त्वा सुशिष्ठ दप्तो सोमैर्वर्धयन्ति अश्रयः । Rv. 5.22.4
 (Thee, strong-jawed, Lord of the household, the Atris exalt with their lands)

स्नेहे हव तन्वा शुभमाने दम्पतीव क्रतुविदा जनेषु । Av. 2.39.2
 (Like (two) women adorning their bodies, like wise masters among men [the Aśvins]).

In the following passages *dampati* is used in the sense of "husband and wife."

गर्भे तु नौ जनिना दम्पती कर्देवः त्वष्टा सविता विश्वरूपः Rv. 10.10.5
 Av. 18.1.5
 (The god Tvaṣṭar, Savitar of all forms, our generator, made us in the womb man and wife)

मा विद्वन् परिपन्थिनो य आसीदन्ति दम्पती । Rv. 10.85.52, Av. 14.2.11
 (Let not the waylayers who lie in ambush find the married pair)

Dampati meant primarily the master of the household. The function of the master could not be fulfilled by an unmarried man. A *dampati* was associated in his religious and secular duties with his mate and hence by association and extension the word *dampati* came to mean a married pair.

Another word which denotes a pair, though not necessarily a married pair, is *Mithuna* (मिथुन). It is not used as a relationship term in either Rgveda or Atharvaveda, but it deserves mention as it is a very significant relationship term in Marathi, meaning a marriageable pair.¹ Just as a brother and sister were *jāmis* in Rgveda, so cross cousins are *mithunas* in Marathā country today. In Rgveda Heaven and Earth, besides being called *jāmi Svasarā* (*jāmi geschwister*), are also called *mithunā*.

ते मारिनो मनिरे सुप्रचेतसो जामी सयोनी मिथुना समोकसा । Rv. 1.144.4
 (They, wise and of surpassing skill have laid out the pair (*mithunā*) of *jāmis* who have the same birth and the same house)

दिवा पृथिव्या मिथुना सबन्ध बमीः यमस्य विभूयादजामि । Rv. 10.10.10
 (With heaven and earth paired though closely related—Yami must bear the un-*jāmi*-like conduct of Yama).

¹ The Marathi term is *mehunā* m. and *mehuni* (मेहुणा and मेहुणी). The gross cousins, (who generally marry) call each other by these terms,

वर्षुं जाता मिथुना सचेते तमोहना तपुषो बुध्न एता । Rv. 3.39.3
 (The Aśvins, both of the same sex are called *Mithunā*, a pair).

भर्तृ—From *bhar* (भर्) to protect, means the protector or lord. The word in classical times is used for husband. In Rgveda it is used only once in the sense of husband.

प्रथिष्ठ यामन् गृथिवी चिदेण भर्तैव गर्भ स्वमिच्छत्रो चुः । Rv. 5.58.7
 (The earth has spread herself at their coming and they as husbands have with power impregnated her).

(b) Bride and wife.

Four words are used for "wife". The terminology for a female relation being in this one case richer than that for the corresponding male relation. These words are *jani* (जनी), *menā* (मेना), *jāyā* (जाया) and *patnī* (पत्नी).

Jani or *jani* (जनि or जनी) means woman, wife. The word is most used in the sense of woman. *Jani* is the opposite of *kanā*. *Jani* is the grown up married woman, while *kanā* is an unmarried girl.

जारः कनीनां पतिर्जनीनाम् Rv. 1.66.8

(Lover of maids, husband of dames).

इमा नारीः अविधवा: सुपत्नीः आञ्जनेन सर्पिषा संविशन्तु

अनश्रवः अनसीवा: सुरत्ना: आरोहन्तु जनयः योनिमध्ये । Rv. 10.18.7 ; Rv.
 (These women, not widows, well-spoused, touch themselves with ointment and butter; tearless, without disease, with good treasures, let the women ascend, first to this place). Here *jani* (जनी) is a synonym of *nāri* (नारी) = woman.

परिष्वजन्ते जनयो यथा पतिष्ठ । Rv. 10.43.1

(As wives embrace their husband).

In compound words *jani* (जनी) is lengthened to *Jāni* (जानि) and invariably means 'wife'.

उमे धुरौ वह्निरापिष्टमानः अन्तर्योनेव चरति द्विजानिः । Rv. 10.101.11

(Between two poles the horse goes pressed closely, as in his dwelling moves the doublywedded. (*Dwijāni*))

ओ शु प्रयाहि वाजेभिः सा हृणीथाः अभि अस्मान् महान् इव युवजानिः ।

Rv. 8.2.19

(Come hither swift with gifts of wealth—be not angry with us as an old man with a youthful bride (*Yuvajāni*))

एषमागद् पतिकामा जनिकामोऽहमागमम् । Av. 2.30.5

(Here comes she wishing for a husband, here come I wishing for a wife (*janikāma*))

The verb *Janiyajā* means "to wish for a wife" :

जनीयन्तो तु अग्रवः पुत्रीयन्तः सुदानवः । सरस्वतं हवामहे । Rv. 7.96.4

(Like unmarried men wishing for a wife and liberal men wishing for sons do we call upon Sarasvata)

Janivat (जनिवत्) means " possessed of wives. "

नहि त्वदिन्द्रो वस्यो अन्यदस्ति अमेनां चित् जनिवतः चकर्थ । Rv. 5.31.2

(O Indra, nobody is greater than you. You give wives to the wifeless).

Menā (मेना) also means woman and is used to denote wife in some verses as the one quoted above, where अमेन means " one without wife ".

मेने इव तन्वे शुभमाने । Rv. 2.39.2

(Like women adorning their bodies (Aśvins)).

Neither *jani* nor *menā* are used as relationship terms. *Menā* means a woman and is used but once to mean a wife. *Jani* and words derived from it are used frequently to convey the meaning wife. The two words which denote " a wife " are *jāyā* and *patnī*.

Jāyā means everywhere the wedded wife and is connected with the word *pati* in most verses.

जायेव पत्यः उशती दुषासा उषा हस्त्रे नि रिणीते अप्सः । Rv. 1.124.7.

(Like a loving wife to her husband, Uṣas smiling and well-attired unmasks her beauty).

अनुब्रतः पितुः पुत्रो मात्रा भवतु संमनाः । जाया पत्ये मःुमर्ती वाचं

वदतु शन्तिवाच् । Av. 3.30.2

(May the son follow the advice of the father, may he be of one accord with the mother, may the wife speak words sweet and peaceful to her husband)

जाया पत्या तुतेव कर्तारं बन्धु चर्चतु

([O krityā] go to your maker like an abandoned wife (going back to her father's house))

त्वष्टा जायामजनयत् त्वष्टा अस्यै त्वां पतिं ।

त्वष्टा सहस्रमायुं वीर्घमायुः लुणोहु बास् । Av. 6.78.3.

(Tvaṣṭar made this woman and made you a husband for her. May he make you two longlived). Here the word *jāyā* seems to mean woman,

Jāyā means one who gives birth to children ; that this quality of the wife was greatly prized, is but natural as begetting children was the boon asked again and again of gods.

पत्नी (*patnī*) is the fem. form of *pati* and has two connotations, just like the word *pati*. It means 1) mistress, ruler and 2) wife.

अभिपश्यन्ति वयुना जनानां दिवो दृष्टिता भुवनस्य पत्नी । Rv. 7.75.4.
(Looking upon the works of mortals, daughter of Heaven, mistress of the world)

अव स्थूमेव चिन्वती मधोनी उचा याति स्वसरस्य पत्नी । Rv. 3.61.4
(Letting her reins drop downwards comes the liberal Uṣā, mistress of the household)

The word *adhipatnī* (अधिपत्नी) is similarly used.

यावावृथिबी दाव्राणां अधिपत्नी ते मा अवताम् Av. 5.24.3
(Heaven and Earth are overlords (*adhipatnī*) of givers. Let them favour us)

Viśpatnī (विश्पत्नी), unlike *Viśpati*, seems to be the head of the family. Though as applied to the goddess of fertility, it may mean the goddess who rules the whole clan.

अस्ति इदम् अधिमन्यं अस्ति प्रजननं कृतं ।
एतां विश्पत्नीमा भर अर्द्धं मन्थाम पूर्वथा । Rv. 3.29.1
(Here is the gear for quirling, here tinder made ready for the spark. Bring the matron (*Viśpatnī*). We will quirl Agni in ancient fashion)

या सुव्राहुः स्वकुरिः सुइमा बहुसुवरी ।
तस्यै विश्पत्न्यै हविः सिनीवाल्यै जुहोतन । Rv. 2.32.7
(She who has lovely arms, lovely fingers, who bears easily and has given birth to many children, to her, to Sinvālī, mistress of the world, give sacred gifts)

Patnī was the wife of the master of the house. It would seem as if she was the chief wife among many cowives. From the marriage hymn and from the word *jyestha vara*, it seems that in Rgvedic times only the eldest son married, as is the custom at present among the Nambutri Brahmins of the Malabar coast. The girl, who married this man, became the mistress of the house (*grhapatnī*) and ruled over all.

एहान् गच्छ युहपत्नी यथासो वशिनी त्वं विदथमा वदासि ।
Rv. 10.85.26; Av. 14.1.20
(Go to the houses so that you become the mistress of the house ; thou having control shalt speak unto the assembly)

यथा सिन्धुनदीनां साम्राज्यं सुखुने दृष्टा
एवा त्वं सम्राज्ञी एधि पत्न्यः अस्तं परेत्य ॥ Av. 14.1.43 Rv. 10.85.45
with slight change

सम्राज्ञी एधि श्वशुरेषु सम्राज्ञी उत देवत्य
ननान्दः सम्राज्ञी एधि सम्राज्ञी उत श्वश्राः ॥ Av. 14.1.44 Rv. 10.85.46
with slight change

As the mighty river (Sindhu) won the supremacy of the streams, so be thou supreme, having gone away to thy husband's home (Av. 14.1.43). Be thou supreme among fathers-in-law, supreme also among brothers-in-law, be thou supreme over sister-in-law, also over mother-in-law.

These verses suggest especially by the analogy with rivers that the bride was to be the first lady of the household.

इह प्रजां जनय पत्न्ये अस्मै सुजपैष्यो भवत पुत्रस्त एषः । Av. 14.2.24
(Here give birth to progeny for this husband; may this son of thine be the eldest).

A boy is made to sit in the bride's lap while these words of blessings are uttered. This seems to mean that just as you are getting a husband who is the eldest of all his brothers, so may a son be born to you, who shall be eldest among his brothers and inherit all.

The cowife, was the thorn in the side of many a married woman. The magic incantations against a cowife testify to the strong feelings by their uncompromising cruelty. One of the reasons, why a wife was disliked by the husband, was her barrenness and there is an incantation, probably meant for a cowife, in which barrenness is wished for a rival.

इमाः यस्ते शतं हिराः सहस्रं धमनीरुत । तासां ते सर्वासां अहं अइमना बिलं
अप्यथाम् । Av. 7.35.2

परं योनेरवरं ते कृणोभिमि मा त्वा प्रजाभिष्वत मोत सृतुः-

अस्वं त्वा अप्रजासं कृणोभिमि अइमानं ते अपिधानं कृणोभिमि । Av. 7.35.3

(These hundred veins that are thine, and the thousand tubes of thine, of them I have covered the opening with a stone.)

The upper part of thy womb I make the lower, let there not be progeny to thee, nor birth. I make thee barren, without progeny; I make a stone thy cover.)

इमां स्तनामि ओषधि वीरपं बलवत्तमाम् । यथा सपर्णी बाधते यथा संविदन्ते
पतिम् । Rv. 10.145.1

सपर्णी मे परा धम पर्ति मे केवलं कुरु । Rv. 10.145.2

(I dig this mightiest of creepers, by which the rival wife is destroyed and the husband is secured. (O plant !) blow away my rival, make the husband only mine).

The following incantation is a charm against a rival, but it also appears to be a kind of ceremony performed for a dead girl. It appears to me that it is an incantation against a *dead* cowife, by a newly married woman. A dead rival could be as harmful as a living one and required as drastic a treatment as a living one. This interpretation seems to be borne out by the use of the word *pitr* used in a double sense (fathers and manes).

भगमस्य वर्चं आदिध्यत् अधि वक्षादिव ऋजम्
महाबुद्ध इव पर्वतो ज्योक्त पितृषु आस्ताम् ॥ Av. I.14.1

एषा ते राजन् कन्या वधूर्निवृयतां यम
सा मातुर्बध्यतां गृहे अथो भ्रातुरथो पितृः ॥ Av. I.14.2

एषा ते कुलपा राजन् तासु ते परि दद्वसि
ज्योक्त पितृषु आसातां जा शीर्षः शमोप्यात् ॥ Av. I.14.3

असितस्य ते ब्रह्मणा कश्यपस्य गयस्य च
अन्तः कोशमिव जामयः अपि नहामि ते भगम् ॥ Av. I.14.4

(1) Her portion, splendour have I taken to myself, as from off a tree a garland , like a mountain with a great base, let her sit long with the fathers (manes).

(2) Let this girl, O king, be shaken as a bride to thee, Yama. Be she bound in her mother's house, in her brother's, also in her father's.

(3) She is thy housekeeper, O king ; we commit her to thee ; she shall sit long with the fathers until the covering in of her head.

(4) With the incantations (Brahmanā) of Asita, Kaśyapa and of Gaya I shut up thy portion, as women do what is within a box).

The fourth verse reminds one of a usage by which an amulet bearing the image of the dead cowife is worn round the neck by women in the Maratha country.

Patijustā (पतिजुष्टा) is the wife loved by her husband, as opposed to a wife who is abandoned by the husband.

देवोयः.....पृथिवीं उपक्षेति
.....अनवदा पतिजुष्टेष नारी । Rv. I.73.3

(This god (Agni) who dwells on this Earth like a blameless woman loved by her husband.)

As against this picture of a happy home where the wife is loved, we have some words which show other conditions. These words are परिवृक्ता, पत्यानुता, पतिद्विष्, पतिरिप् and पतिग्नी (*Parivṛktā*, *Patyānuttā*, *Patidviṣ*, *Patirip* and *Patighnī*).

दृष्टसि तृष्णिका विषा विषातक्षयसि ।

परिवृक्ता पत्यासस्यूषभस्य वशा इव । Av. 7.113.2

A favourite rival is sought to be ousted from her position with the help of a magical plant which is pungent and poisonous. The first line is addressed to the plant.

(Pungent art thou, pungent one, poisonous, a poisonous one art thou. Thou (the rival) mayest be avoided, as a barren cow of a bull).

परिवृक्तेन पतिविष्यमानद् । Rv. 10.102.11

(Like one forsaken she has obtained a husband)

शूद्रकृता राजकृता श्रीकृता ब्रह्मिः कृता ।

जाया पत्या नुत्तेव कर्तारं बन्धवृच्छतु । Av. 10.1.3

(Whether this कृता is) Śūdra-made, king-made, woman-made or made by a Brahman, like a wife *expelled by her husband* let her go to her maker as a relation.)

कुविष्यतिद्विषो पतीरिन्द्रेण संगमामहै । Rv. 8.91.4

(" Shall we not, hated by our husbands, unite with Indra " (said by Apāla who was hated and consequently turned out by her husband)).

अप्रातरो न योध्यो व्यन्तः पतिरिषो न जनयो हुरेषाः

पापासः सन्तः अनृता असत्या इदं पदमजनता गमीरम् । Rv. 4.5.5

(Like youthful women, without brothers, straying, like *women who cheat their husbands*, of evil conduct they who are full of sin, untrue, unfaithful, they have engendered this abysmal station).

Apatighnī and *adevṛghnī* (अपतिग्नी अदेवर्घनी) are those wives who do not bring a' out the death of their husband and brother-in-law soon after marriage. The bride as a stranger enters the clan of her husband. Nobody knows whether the presence of the stranger shall bring good or bad luck and so it is prayed, that the young wife (bride) should be of good omen.¹

¹ At the present day, if a person in the husband's clan falls ill and dies within a year or two after a bride comes home, it is considered a fault of the bride and she is sometimes driven out of the house.

अदोरचक्षुः अपतिद्वी स्पेना शग्मा भुशेवा लुयमा युहेयः । Av. 14.2.17
 ((be thou) Not-evil-eyed, not husband killer, pleasant, helpful,
 very propitious, of easy control for the house)

अदेवृद्धनी अपतिद्वी इह पथि शिवा पशुरः लुयमा लुवर्चाः । Av. 14.2.18
 (Not brother-in-law slayer, not husband slaying, be thou here ;
 propitious to the cattle, of easy control and splendid)

बीरस्त्रेवकामा सं त्वयैधिषीमहि लुमनस्यमाना । Av. 14.2.17
 (bearing male children, loving the brother-in-law, with favouring
 mind we thrive with thee)

(c) Others

Devrī (देव्री) is the word which is used for the younger brother-in-law in later literature and in most of the modern dialects. In Rgveda and Atharvaveda also the word must be taken to mean a younger brother-in-law. It was the eldest son of the family who married first. It was conceived a great sin, to steal this birth right of the eldest born. The bridegroom was called the *jyeshta vara*, so *devrī* must be a term applied to the others,—the younger clan-brothers and own-brothers of the husband. The bride is expected to be auspicious to her brothers-in-law and to love them. In one place a widow is said to be the concubine of a younger brother-in-law.

को वां शशुभ्रा विधवा इव देवरं मर्ये न योषा कृणुते सधस्थ आ । Rv. 10.40.2
 ([O Asvins'] who brings you to bed as a widow her [younger]
 brother-in-law? (who brings you home) as a young girl her
 lover)?¹

Didhiṣu (दिधिषु) means a lover, but is not used in the same way as the words *jāra* or *maryā* etc. *Didhiṣu* is the man who is the suitor of a once married woman—a woman who is either divorced by her husband or who is a widow.

उदीर्ब्ब नारि अधि जीवलोकं गतासुमेनं उपशेषे एहि

हस्तग्राभस्य दिधिषोः तव इदं पत्न्यः जनित्वं अभिसंबभूय ।

Rv. 10.18.8

Av. 18.3.2

(Go up, O woman, to the world of living; thou liest by this one who is dead. Come, to him who grasps your hand, your suitor (second husband). You have entered into the relationship of the wife of (this) husband).

¹ For *adevṛghṇi* and *devṛkāmā* (अदेवृघ्नी and देवृकामा) of. above.

Devrī seems to be derived from the verb *div*, to play or joke, and means a relation who is on terms of familiarity and joking with the bride. This is as a matter of fact the rôle of the young brother-in-law in present day India.

This verse follows the one in which the widow is described as lying by the corpse of her husband. Is this *dīlhiṣu* the same as a *devr* (cf. above p. 135 को वां शयुत्रा विधवेव देवर etc.)?

In one verse Rv. 6.55.5 the God *Pūṣan* (Agni) is called the husband of his own mother and the lover of his own sister.

मातुर्दीधिषुमब्रवम् स्वसुजारः शृणोतु नः । Rv. 6.55.5

(We called to the mother's husband. Let his sister's lover hear us.)¹

Vidhavā (विधवा) is a woman who has lost her husband. It is derived from the root *vidh* to separate, to hurt or to pierce. The masculine form *Vidhava* (विधव) seems to have been used once. But the final *a* is changed to *ā* to suit the metre.

युवं ह कृशं युवमश्चिना शयुं युवं विधन्तं विधवामस्यथः । Rv. 10.40.8
(Kṛṣṇa and Śayu you protect, ye two Asvins. You assist the bereaved worshipper.)

The fem. form *Vidhavā* was used more frequently and came to mean a widow, with the later false derivation *vi+dhava*.

को वां शयुत्रा विधवेव देवरं.....रुणते । Rv. 10.40.2
who brings you to bed as a widow her younger brother-in-law ?

कस्ते मातरं विधवामकार्षीति । Rv. 4.8.12

(Who made thy mother a widow ?)

इमा नारीरविधवा छपलीराज्ञेन सर्पिषा सं सृशन्ताम् ।

अनभ्रवो अनमीवाः सुरत्ना आ रोहन्तु जनयो योनिमध्ये ॥ Rv. 10.18. 7

Av. 12.2.31

(Let these women, not widows, well spoused, touch themselves with ointment, with butter. Tearless without disease, with good treasures, let the wives first ascend to the place)

It seems that only *avidhavā* (अविधवा, not-widow) could wear ornaments and use ointment, and that a widow was deprived of these in the Vedic times as is the custom today.

Patiloka (पतिलोक) means the clan or the world of the husband. On her marriage a girl is said to go from the *pitṛloka* (पितॄलोक — the father's house) to the *patiloka*.

उशतीः कन्यला इमाः पितॄलोकात् पति यतीः । Av. 14.2.52.

¹ Cf. p. 93. Vahni the priest, generates Vahni the fire, through his daughters the Arapis. We have here a relationship puzzle which makes Vahni (fire) his own father, grand-father, son and grandson and which makes Arapi his wife, mother and sister,

(These yearning girls going from their father's house to their husband's).

There seems to have been a ceremonial severing of the bonds that bound her to her father's house and binding her to her husband's clan.

^१ उर्वारुकमिव बन्धतात् प्रेतो मुञ्चामि नामुतः । Av. 14.1.17

प्रेतो मुञ्चामि नामुतः सुबद्धां अमुतस्फरम् । Av. 14.1.18.

(Like a gourd from its bond, from here (the father's house) I release, not from there.)

(I release (her) from here, not from yonder. I make her well bound yonder (her husband's house)).

After this ceremonial binding, the girl belonged to her husband's clan in life as well as in death. The following verse points out to an ancient pre-vedic usage by which a woman was cremated with her husband.

इयं नारी पतिलोकं दृणाना निपथते उप त्वा मर्य प्रेतम्

पर्म उराणं अनुगालयन्ती तस्यै प्रजां ब्रविणं च धेहि । Av. 18.3.1

(This woman choosing her husband's world lies down by thee that are departed, O mortal, continuing the ancient practice. Give her wealth and progeny)

Later in the ceremonial a cow is substituted for the woman to guide the man on his way to the ancestors, and the woman is allowed to live and choose a mate. Even when the husband is dead she belongs to the *patiloka*. Only a man from her husband's clan, can claim her.⁸ If she marries outside the husband's clan she has to perform certain rites by which union with the world of the new husband is ensured.

या पूर्वे पति विन्त्वा अथ अन्यं विन्दते अपरम्

पश्चौदनं च ता अजं ददातो न वि योषतः ॥ Av. 9. 5. 27

समानलोको भवति एनर्भुवा अपरः पतिः

यः अजं पश्चौदनं दक्षिणाज्योतिषं ददाति ॥ Av. 9.5.28

(She who having gained a former husband, then gains another later one—if they (both) shall give a goat with five rice dishes, they shall not be separated.)

(The later husband comes to have the same world with his re-married spouse when he gives a goat with five rice dishes, with the light of sacrificial gifts.)

¹ उर्वारुक = Marathi वाळुक.

⁸ Cf. P. 135 above. उदीर्ज नारी etc.

श्वशुर—श्वश्रू—ननान्दः.

श्वशुर-श्वश्रू—(*Svasura* and *Svaśrū*) the father and mother of the husband (bride speaking) occur in both *Rgveda* and *Atharvaveda*

ममेदह श्वशुरो ता जगाम । Rv. 10.28.1

(My father-in-law has not come here)

सप्राज्ञी श्वशुरे भव सप्राज्ञी श्वश्रां भव । Rv. 10.85.46

(Be thou supreme over father-in-law and mother-in-law.)

सप्राज्ञी एधि श्वशुरेषु, सप्राज्ञी उत देवषु

ननान्दः सप्राज्ञी एधि सप्राज्ञी उत श्वश्राः । Av. 14.1.44

(Be thou supreme among fathers-in-law, supreme among brothers-in-law, supreme over sister-in-law, supreme over mother-in-law.)

श्वशुराय शश्चूः स्योना श्वश्रै प्र यद्यान् विश इमान् । Av. 14.2.26

(Wealthful to thy father-in-law, pleasant to thy mother-in-law do thou enter these houses)

स्योना भव श्वशुरेष्यः । Av. 14.2.27

(Be thou pleasant to the father-in-law.)

ये मूर्यात्परि सर्पन्ति सुषेष श्वशुरादधि । Av. 8.6.24

(They that creep away from the sun, as a daughter-in-law away from her father-in-law)

The plural use of the word *Svasura* (श्वशुर) suggests that it was used for the father of the husband, as also for his uncles and grandfather.

The form of the benediction suggests that as soon as the (eldest ?) son is married, he and his wife become the master and the mistress of the joint household even in the life-time of the father-in-law.

The last example shows that the custom prevalent in India today, by which a daughter-in-law has to avoid her father-in-law, was well established in *Atharvaveda* times. There is one verse in which the word *Svaśrū* (श्वश्रू) is used of wife's mother. It appears to be a later usage. Primarily these terms apply to the husband's father and mother and have then been applied also to bride's father and mother in the classical and modern period.

द्वेष्टि श्वश्रूप जाया रुणद्वि न नाथितो विन्दते मर्दितारम् । Rv. 10.34.;

(The wife holds me aloof, the mother-in-law (wife's mother) hates me. The wretched man finds no comforter.)

Nanāndṛ (ननान्दृ) = [From *nanda* to give pleasure] the sister of the husband, occurs but once in each Veda in the marriage hymn,

ननान्दरि सम्राज्ञी भव । Rv. 10.85.46

ननान्दुः सम्राज्ञी एधि । Av. 14.1.44

(Be thou supreme over your sister-in-law).

Snusā (स्तुषा)—The daughter-in-law.

वृषाकपायि रेवति बुषुब्रे आहु उसुषे ।

घसत इन्द्र उक्षणः प्रियं काचित्करं हविर्विश्वस्तादिन्द्र उत्तरः । Rv. 10.86.13

(O *Vṛṣākapāyi*, wealthy, blessed with good sons and good daughters-in-law, Indra will eat thy bulls, thy dear oblation, that effecteth much. Supreme is Indra over all)

ये सूर्यात्परि सर्पनित स्तुषेव श्वशुरादभि । Av. 8.6.24

(Who creep away from the sun as the daughter-in-law from her father-in-law.)

Syāla (स्याल)—Wife's brother.

अथवं हि भूरिदावत्तरा वां विजामातुः उत वा धा स्यालात् । Rv. 1.109.2

(For I have heard that you give wealth more freely than either son-in-law or the brother of the wife.)

Jāmāṭr (जामातु) means son-in-law. The word is used a few times in Rgveda and is not found in Atharvaveda.

At two places Vāyu or Marut is called the *jāmāṭr* of *Tvaṣṭr*. The exact meaning cannot be fixed in this context, as the words are simply used as a term of address of Marut. In Rv. 8.2.20 occurs the following verse.

मो व्यय दुर्हणावान् सायं करदरे अस्मत् । अश्रीरिव जामाता ॥

(Be not evil towards us like an inauspicious son-in-law. Do not go away from us in the evening)

The word *vijāmāṭr* appears to have the same meaning as the word *jāmāṭr* (just like the words *jā*, *prajā* and *vijā*).

अथवं हि भूरिदावत्तरा वां विजामातुः उत वा धा स्यालात् । Rv. 1.109.2

(I have heard that you two (*Indrāgni*) are better givers than either a son-in-law or a brother-in-law (wife's brother).¹

¹ We need not infer from this quotation that the son-in-law generally paid money to secure a bride. The verse immediately preceding this says वि त्यर्थं मनसा वस्यः इच्छन् इन्द्रामी ज्ञास उत वा सजातान् । न अन्याः युक्तमानिरस्ति.....। Rv. 1.109.1 (wishing for wealth I looked in spirit for kinsmen or for brothers *Indrāgni*; No providence but yours alone is with me.). The poet says that his bloodkin has failed him. Next he turns to his affinies—the son-in-law and the brother-in-law—and finds that they are not much help either and so turns to Indra and Agni for help.

The word *Syāla* (स्याल) occurs but once in *Rgveda* in the quotation given above. It probably means wife's brother though from the context the meaning cannot be definitely fixed.

5. Other words denoting relationship in general.

There are a number of words which denote some kind of relationship, but whose meaning cannot be fixed definitely. Such words are सजात् and सजात्य, ज्ञ and ज्ञाति, आपि आप्य and आपित्वम्, जामि, जामित्र, नाभि, बन्धु and दायाद.

Sajāta (सजात्) = born together; means brother or kinsman.

सजातान् उय इह आ वह ब्रह्म च अप चिकीहि नः । Av. 1.10.4

(Call your brothers (other gods) and pay attention to our prayers)

सजातानां श्रेष्ठव आ धेहि एनम् । Av. 1.9.3

(Give him highest rank among his kinsmen (? brothers))

सजातानां असो वशी । Av. 19.46.7

(Be controller of your kinsmen.)

सजात्य (*sajātya*) means kinship.

सजात्यं अभिवन्नाश्चारु नाम । Rv. 3.54.16

(The kinship of Aśvins is indeed beautiful)

अस्ति हि वः सजात्यं रिशादसो देवासो अस्ति आप्यम् । Rv. 8.27.10

(O Gods, destroyers of foes, I have kinship and close alliance with you). Here *sajātya* is coupled with the word *āpyam*.

The negative form *asajātya* is found once.

इयं वां अहे शृणुतं मे अभिवना उत्राय इव पितरा मह्यं शिक्षतम् ।

अनापिः अज्ञाः असजात्या अमतिः पुरा तस्या अभिशस्तेरवस्पृतम् ॥

Rv. 10.39.6

(I am calling on you, listen to me Aśvins. Help me as parents help their son ; without wealth, without *āpi*, without *jñās* and without *sajātya* am I. Save me from this curse before it is too late).

Here सजात्य is coupled with *jñās* and *āpi*.

The word *jñās* occurs once in *Rgveda*.

वि शूस्यं मनसा वस्य इच्छन् इन्द्राग्नी ज्ञास उत वा सजातान् । Rv. 1.109.1

(Longing for wealth I looked round, Oh Indrāgni, for brothers (*sajātā*) and for kinsmen (*jñās*)).

Ajñās as already noted occurs coupled with *anāpi* and *asajātya*.

The word *jñāti* occurs a few times to denote relations or kinsmen.

यमयोऽधिक्ष समा वीर्याणि ज्ञाती चिदुसन्तौ न समं पूर्णीतः । Rv. 10.117.9

(Even twins do not have the same strength [equal strength] even those two who are *jñātis* do not give equally (liberally)).

Jñāti seems to mean men belonging to the same kin-group in this context.

नीललोहितं भवति कृत्यासकिर्व्यज्यते । एन्धते अस्या ज्ञातयः पतिर्बन्धेषु बध्यते ।

Rv. 10.85.28 ; Av. 14.1.26

(Her hue is blue red; the clinging fiend is driven away. The kinsmen of the bride thrive, the husband is fast bound in bonds.)

प्रीता इव ज्ञातयः कामं एति अस्मै देवासः अव धूता वसु । Rv. 10.66.14
(Like pleased kinsmen, come at our desire, O Gods, and shake down treasures on us)

ससन्तु सर्वे ज्ञातयः सस्तु अयम् अभितः जनः । Rv. 7.55.5

(Let all the kinsmen sleep, let all people around sleep.)

Jñātimukha (ज्ञातिमुख) is a person who has taken on the appearance of a kinsman. In Atharvaveda reference is made to the souls of the Dasyus who commingle with the ancestors of a man, and taking on the likeness of those ancestors try to eat the offerings given to the dead.

ये दस्यवः पितृषु प्रविष्टा ज्ञातिमुखाः अहुतादश्वरन्ति

परापुरो निपुरो ये भरन्ति अग्निस्तान् अस्मात् प्रथमाति यज्ञात् । Av. 18.2.28

(Those barbarians, who having entered among the fathers (manes), having faces of the kinsmen, go about, eating what is not sacrificed, who bear Parāpura and Nipura—Agni shall blast them from this sacrifice)

The words *āpi*, *āpyam* and *āpitvam* occur very often. The first two words are very frequently used in Rgveda. The word *āpi* (आपि) occurs but once in Atharvaveda and that too in a verse which is identical with a Rgveda verse. The word occurs in conjunction with other words like सखा, सजात्य etc. Whether it means just friendship or some kind of kinship is not quite certain from the context, though the latter appears to be probable.

आ हि धा सुनवे पिता आपिर्यजति आपये सखा सख्ये वरेण्यः । Rv. 1.26.3
(For here a father for his son, a kinsman for his kinsman and a friend for his choice friend doth worship)

ते अग्ने देवेषु आप्यम् । Rv. 1.105.13

(O Agni, your kinship is with gods)

नासुध्वेरापिः न सखा न जामि । Rv. 4.25.6

([Indra] is neither *āpi* nor friend, nor *jāmi* of him who does not press the Soma juice).

अग्निं मन्ये पितरं अर्दिन् आपि अर्दिन् भ्रातरं सदमित्सखाप्यम् । Rv. 10.7.3

(I regard Agni as my father, my *āpi*, brother and eternal friend)

उपसदाय मीड्लुष आस्ये लुहता हविः । यो नो नेदिष्वम् आप्यम् । Rv. 7.15.1

(Offer oblations in the mouth of the bounteous god whom we must serve—he who is our nearest *āpi*).

भद्रेः आपिः नो अन्तमः । Rv. 8.45.18

(Become our nearest *Āpi*.)

इदं सवितर्विजानीहि पद्म यमा एक एकजः

तस्मिन् ह अपित्वमिच्छन्ते य एषां एक एकजः । Av. 10.8.5

(Know this Savitṛ six are the twins, one singly born. They claim relationship in him who among them is singly born)

The word *anāpi* occurs once together with *asajātya* and *ajñā*. (cf. p. 140).

The word *jāmi* has been dealt with while discussing the words *bhrātṛ* and *svast*, (p. 109). Besides meaning brother and sister, the word also shows general relationship. The word *jāmi* occurs together with its opposite *ajāmi* and also alone. Its derivatives *jāmya*, *jāmūlva* and *jāmīvat* are also found.

त्वं जामिः जनानां अग्ने मित्रो असि प्रियः । Rv. 1.75.4

(You are the kinsman (*jāmi*) of mankind, O Agni, and their dear friend.)

एतेषा उरुतमा दृशे कं न अजामिं न परि वृणात्कि जामिम् । Rv. 1.124.6

(She, verily, exceeding vast, debareth from her sight neither kin (*jāmi*) nor stranger (*ajāmi*))

अब स्थिरा ततुहि यात्यूनां जामिं अजामिं प्र सूर्णीहि शश्वत् । Rv. 4.4.5

(Slacken the bows of the demon-driven, destroy our foes whether kinsmen (*jāmi*) or strangers [*ajāmi*])

एना मन्दानो जहि क्षर शश्वत् जामिं अजामिं मघवन् अमित्रात् । Rv. 6.44.17

(Intoxicated therewith, O Hero Maghavan, kill our foes, the unfriendly—be they kinsmen or strangers)

यश्च सापत्नः शपथो जाम्याः शपथश्च यः

ब्रह्मा यन्मन्तुतः शपात् सर्वं तत्त्वा अधस्पदम् । Av. 2.7.2

(Both the curse that is a rival's and the curse that is of a kins-woman, what a priest from fury may curse—all that be underneath our feet)

उतो असि अबन्धुकृत उतो असि तु जामिकृत

उतो कृत्याकृतः प्रजां नदमित्र आ द्विनिधि वार्षिकम् । Av. 4.19.1

In this verse *abandhukṛt* is the opposite of *jāmikṛt* thus *bandhu* and *jāmi* become synonymous.

तद्वा जामिन्तं मरुतः परे युगे युरु यच्छुसं असृतास आत्रत । Rv. 1.166.13

(Such is our kinship (*jāmīvat*) that in former times you came to our help and gave us much)

माकिन्न एना सस्या वि यौदुस्तव च इन्द्र विमदस्य च क्लेषः

विदमा हि ते प्रमतिं देव जामिकृत अस्मे ते सन्तु सस्या शिवानि । Rv. 10.23.7

(Never, may this bond of friendship between the Rsi Vimada and you, be severed, O Indra. We know thou carest for us as a kinsman (*jāmivat*). With us, O God, be thy auspicious friendship.)

The word *jāmisāmsa* occurs in Atharvaveda and means "the curse of kinsmen."

क्षेत्रियात् त्वा निर्कृत्या जामिशंसाद् दुहो मुख्यामि वरुणस्य पाशात्

अनागसं ब्रह्मणा त्वा कृणोमि हिवे ते यावापृथिवी स्तास् । Av. 2.10.1

(From Kṣetriya, from perdition, from imprecation of kinsmen, from hatred do I release thee, from Varuṇa's fetter; free from guilt I make thee by my incantations; be heaven-and-earth both propitious to you.)

Bandhu (बन्धु) is another word denoting relationship of some kind. It is derived from the root *bandh* to bind, and means relations by marriage in some modern dialects, but in Rgveda and Atharvaveda no such distinction in meaning between and other words like *jāmi* can be traced.

वरणेन प्रत्याथिता आतृव्या मे सबन्धवः

असूते रजो अप्यगुर्स्ते यन्तु अधमं तमः । Av. 10.3.9

(Driven forth by Varuṇa my enemies [who are my] kinsmen have gone unto unlighted space. Let them go to lowest darkness)

यौमे पिता जनिता नाभिरत्र बन्धुमें माता पृथिवी महीयम् । Rv. 1.114.33

(The sky is my father, my generator and close kin (नाभि). This great earth is my mother, my *bandhu* (kinswoman))

नासत्या मे पितरा बन्धुपृच्छा । Rv. 3.54.16

(The Nāsatyas are my parents kind to kinsmen—[Enquiring after kinsmen])

वयं हि त्वां बन्धुमन्तं अबन्धवः विप्रासः इन्द्र येमिम । Rv. 8.21.4

(We the kinless worshippers have drawn thee hither, O Indra of numerous kin.)

छिनत्यस्य पितुबन्धु पराभावयति मातृबन्धु । Av. 12.5.43

((She) severs his paternal connections, causes to perish his maternal kin.)

Nābhi (नाभि) also means kin or relation.

स्वसार ई जामयो मर्जयन्ति सनाभयो वाजिवं ऊर्जयन्ति । Rv. 9.89.4

(The *jāmi* sisters who are *sanābhi* (close kin?) brighten him and strengthen the vigorous racer)

The ten fingers are called *jāmi* and *sanābhi*

प्रजां त्वष्टा वि डग्गु नाभिमस्मे अथा देवनामप्येतु पाप्यः । Rv. 2.3.9

(May Tvaṣṭṛ lengthen out our progeny and kindred and may they reach the place which gods inhabit)

यो नः सोम अभिदासति सनाभिः यश्च निष्टचः

अप तस्य वलं तिर । Av. 6.6.3

(Whoever, O Soma, shall assail us, of the same kindred and also a stranger—draw away his strength)

विश्वे देवा वसुरो रक्षते मस्तुतादित्या जाग्रत् युयमस्मिन्

मेमं सनाभिरुत वान्यनाभिमेमं प्रापत् पौरुषेयो वधो यः । Av. 1.30.1

(O all ye gods, ye Vasus, protect this man, likewise you Adityas, watch over him; him let not one related, nor one unrelated—him let not any deadly weapon of men reach)

Jāmi and *ajāmi*, *ūpi* and *anūpi*, *sanābhi* and *anyanābhi*, *sajāta* and *asajātīya*, *jñās* and *ajñās* are pairs meaning kin and not kin. Their connotation, so as to differentiate the one from the other, cannot be fixed.¹

The words दाय (dāya) and दायाद (dāyāda), which are so frequent in later legal literature, occur but once or twice in Rgveda and Atharvaveda.

Dāya occurs once in Rgveda and means portion or reward.

श्रमस्य दायं विभन्नित एभ्यो यदा यमो भवति हम्येहितः । Rv. 10.114.10

(These—horses—when the driver is settled at home, receive the reward—allotted portion—of their exertion)

The word *dāyāda* occurs twice in Atharvaveda in an identical context. The meaning is not quite clear, except that some general kinship is indicated. It may also mean heir.

न ब्राह्मणो हिंसितव्योऽग्निः प्रियतनोर्श्व

सोमो हि अस्य दायाद हन्त्रोऽस्याभिशस्तिपा । Av. 5.18.6

(The Brahman is not to be killed, like fire, by one who holds himself dear; for Soma is his Dāyāda (? heir), Indra his protector against imprecations)

अग्निर्वै नः पदवायः सोमो दायाद उच्यते । Av. 5.18.14

(Agni verily our guide, Soma is called our heir)

It is proposed to discuss, especially from the sociological point of view, the various kinship terms enumerated above and also some others, in the next part of this paper.

¹ *Api* = one who is near, therefore a neighbour. In *sanābhi*, *nābhi* = home or house; *sanābhi* = belonging to the same household. *Anyanābhi* = belonging to another household. *Jñā* means to know; therefore *jñāti* may mean acquaintances. *Sajāta* are those who are born together and are therefore brothers. *Bandhu* are those who are bound together, are therefore affines. Such meanings can be derived from the meanings of the root, but their actual use shows that one word was often used for another and all generally mean "kindred."

OLDEST DATED MANUSCRIPT OF SĀYANA'S
COMMENTARY ON THE SĀMAVEDA--

Dated Thursday, 31st March 1463.

BY

P. K. GODE, M.A.

While examining the manuscripts in the Limaye collection¹ acquired by the B. O. R. Institute, Poona, in 1938, I found in it a Ms of the *Sūmavedārtha-prakāśa* by the celebrated Sāyaṇācārya. It consists of about 235 folios (size —11½ in. × 5 in.) and is written on thick country paper which though old is well preserved. I was particularly interested in this Ms² because of its early date of copying which is recorded on the last folio 235 in the following colophon :—

“ इति श्रीमद्भाजाधिराजपरमेश्वरैविदिकमार्गप्रवर्तकश्रीवीरचुक्रभूषाल-
साम्राज्यधुरंधरेण सायणाचार्येण विरचिते माधवीये सामवेदार्थप्रकाशो उत्तरा
ग्रंथे एकविंशोऽध्यायः ॥ ॥ ४ ॥ संवत् १५२० वर्षे चैत्र शुक्ल १ ग(गु)रौ लिखितं ॥
शुभं भवत ॥ ४ ॥

¹ This collection was presented to the Institute by Mr. Shambhurao Govind Limaye of Aṣṭe (Satara Dist.) It contains about 450 MSS. An ancestor of Mr. Limaye of the name Sakho Anant Limaye who flourished between A. D. 1800 and 1840 had a passion for collecting MSS. He was in the employ of Mahadevabhat Patvardhan, the son of Parashurambhau Patvardhan, the renowned ancestor of the Raja of Sangli. He appears to have been a *Phaṭanīs* or finance Secretary of Mahadevabhat Patvardhan as he is called in the colophons of some of the MSS in the Limaye collection as “*Sakhopant Limaye Aṣṭekar Phaṭanīs*.” Vañcheśvara alias Kuṭī Kavi composed his commentary on the *Hiranyakeśīśūtra* at the desire of Sakhopant Limaye between A. D. 1816 and 1828. (Vide my article on Kuṭī Kavi, *Annals*, Vol. XX, pp. 9-20). It is remarkable that Sakhopant Limaye maintained his interest in Sanskrit learning in tact inspite of the demolition of the Maratha Empire that was then taking place between 1800 and 1840 A. D.

² This Ms contains Sāyaṇa's commentary on the *Uttarārci* of the *Sāma-veda* (21 chapters). The colophons of the several *adhyāyas* will be found on folios 13, 24, 34, 50, 63, 75, 89, 99, 112, 126, 134, 147, 158, 165, 172, 182, 188, 196, 210, 228, 235. The date of this Ms as found recorded in the colophon quoted above would be equivalent to *Thursday, 31st March 1463* A. D. (Vide *Indian (continued on next page)*

The above colophon agrees with the colophons in the edition of this work published in the *Bibliotheca Indica*.¹ The MSS used for this edition are briefly mentioned by the editor in his Sanskrit Introduction to Vol. V of this Edition.² He does not, however, record any dates of the MSS used by him. I have no means of examining the MSS material used for the other editions of this work referred to in the British Museum Catalogue.³ It appears, however, that the MSS of Sāyana's commentary on the *SāmaVeda* are not numerous. Aufrecht records about 16 MSS in his *Catalogus Catalogorum* viz. Part I, p. 709-10. 1283, 3004, 3005⁴ Khn. 2, Ben. 16, 17, Brl. 40, Burnell⁵ 11^b, Rice. 62, Peters⁶ 2. 178, W. 1424;⁷ Part II, p. 283--Uiwar⁸ 223, 226. Out of the

Ephemeris, V, p. 128). The *tithi* and the week day recorded in the Ms read: "शु १ ग्रो" which ought to read "शु २१ ग्रो" as "शु ?" would give us Monday 21st March 1463 while "शु ११" gives us Thursday, 31st March 1463. Evidently the writing of "?" for "???" and "ग्रो" for "ग्री" is due to scribal error.

¹ *Bib. Ind. New Series*. Vol. I, 1874 (Calcutta, A. S. B.) ed. by Satyavrata Sāmāśramī (vide p. 936); Vol. II, (1876); Vol. III, (1876), Vol. IV, (1877); Vol. V (1878).

² Out of the 4 MSS used by Sāmāśramī one belonged to Pandit Rāmaśāstri of Benares, another belonged to Gaudasvāmī, the guru of the Editor (at Benares) and the remaining two MSS belonged to the Editor himself. No details of these MSS have been recorded by the Editor.

³ Sanskrit, Pāli and Prākrit MSS (Supplement for 1906-1928) by L. D. Barnett, London, 1928, p. 1197-1198. These editions may be briefly indicated here:—(1) 1912—Edn. by Rājākumar Vedatirtha with notes and Bengali Translation. (2) 1919—ed. by Durgadāsa Lahiri with Beng. Trans. and notes. (3) 1906—Reprint of Rev. J. Stevenson's Eng. Tran. of the text pub. at London (1842); (4) 1907—Griffith's Trans. 2 Edn. Benares; (5)—1914 Ed. by V. V. De, Jagatpur, Text, Commentary and Beng. Tran. (6) 1917—Ed. by Surendranatha and Revatikanta, Text, comm. and Beng. Tran. etc.

⁴ Vide *India Office MSS Catalogue*, Part I (Vedic MSS), 1887, p. 16—No. 1283^b is styled as "modern" while Nos. 3004 and 3005 are also modern being "copied for Bombay Government"

⁵ Vide *Burnell's Cata. of Tanjore MSS*, Part I, London, 1879 p. 11^b—No date recorded.

⁶ *Report II.* (1884) by Peterson, p. 178—No date recorded. This MS is from the list of Ulwar MSS.

⁷ Weber's *Cata. of Berlin MSS*, 1886, p. 16—MS No. 1424 dated Śaka 1772 = A. D. 1850.

⁸ *Cata. of Ulwar MSS*. by Peterson, Bombay, 1892, p. 9 No. 223—2 copies (No dates recorded), No. 226 (No date recorded, though No. 225 the text of *SāmaVedasamhitā* is dated Śāvat 1675=A. D. 1619).

above MSS I have examined about ten as described in Catalogues and find that no dates for them are recorded in their descriptions. The Berlin MS represented by Aufrecht's entry "W. 1424" is dated Śaka 1772 = A. D. 1850 and hence has no chronological value. The remaining four MSS viz. Khn. 2, Ben. 16.17, Br. 40 and Rice 62 are not available to me and hence I am unable to say if any of them bear any date. Judging, however, by the paucity of the MSS of Sāyaṇa's commentary on the *Sāmaveda* and also the paucity of early dates for these MSS I am inclined to think that the MS of the Limaye collection bearing the date Samvat 1520 or A. D. 1463 is the oldest dated MS of the *Sāma-vedārthaprakāśa* of Sāyaṇa and as such should be extremely useful to scholars interested in a critical edition of this commentary.¹

It would now be useful to record the dates of MSS of Sāyaṇa's commentary on the *Rgveda*. Fortunately my friend Mr. N. S. Sontakke, the Editor of the Poona Edition² of the *Rgveda* has done this work to some extent. He gives us a detailed account of the MSS procured by him for his edition. The following tabular statement will show clearly the chronology of the dated MSS used by Mr. Sontakke :--

Source of Ms	Reference	Sam	Śaka	A. D.	Remarks
1. B. O. R. Institute (Govt. MSS Library)	No. 18 ^b of 1870-71	1609	...	1553	
"	No. 5 of 1916-18	...	1739	1817	
"	No. 18 ^a of 1870-71	1609	...	1553	

¹ Mr. M. M. Patkar of the B. O. R. Institute has prepared a specimen list of variants (Vide Appendix) as found in this MS after comparing it with the text of Sāyaṇa's commentary on the *Sāmaveda* as published in the *Biblioteca Indica* edition of 1874-78. From these variants collected by him from this MS for Chap. I, of *Uttarārcī*—commentary it appears that they materially differ from those in the *Bib. Ind.* Edition.

² *Rgveda* with Sāyaṇa's commentary (Vaidic Samshodhan Mandal, Poona, Vol. I, 1933) Introduction, pp. 1-3.

Source of Ms.	Reference	Sāmvat	Saka	A. D.	Remarks
2. Oriental Institute Baroda	No. 12233	1879	...	1823	
"	No. 12232	1879	...	1823	
"	No. 12231	1877		1821	
Sanskrit College Benares	nil (ज Ms)	1851	...	1795	
Chidambar Dikshit of Badli (Dist. Belgaum)	न Ms	...	1596	1674	
nil	स Ms	...	1606	1684	
Palace Library Mysore	व Ms	1895	„	1849	Vide p. 8- Sanskrit Introduction

It would be seen that the earliest dated Ms of Sāyana's commentary on the *R̥gveda* bears the date Sāmvat 1609 = A. D. 1553. These two MSS belong to the B. O. R. Institute (Govt. MSS. Library) and were copied 90 years later than the Ms of Sāyana's commentary on the *Sāmaveda* in the Limaye collection.

The Oriental Institute Baroda, possesses some dated MSS¹ of Sāyana's commentaries in addition to those recorded in the above statement. These are as follows :—

Commentary on	Reference	Sām.	Saka	A. D.	Reference
<i>Ādhānamantra</i>	No. 11085	...	1802	1880	
<i>R̥gvedasāṁhitā</i>	No. 110226	...	1796	1874	
Do	No. 236	1816	...	1760	Astaka I
<i>Aitareyabrahmaṇa</i>	No. 10989		1795	1873	Adhy. 1-20
<i>Kuśmāñḍahomamantra</i>	No. 11421	1902	...	1846	
<i>Rudra</i>	No. 4516	1819	...	1763	
<i>Satapathabrahmaṇa</i>	No. 10412	1578	...	1522	Kānda 11
Do	No. 10413	1636	...	1610	Do
Do	No. 12071	1586	...	1530	Kānda 2
<i>Sauranūkta</i>	No. 2261	...	1702	1780	From Rv.
Do	No. 4524	...	1698	1776	
<i>Aitareyopanisadbhāṣyā-</i> <i>rtharalnamālā</i>	No. 284	...	1707	1785	

¹ G. O. S. XXVII, Vol. I—Vedic MSS (Baroda 1925) pp. 1-20.

In the above statement the Ms of Sāyana's commentary on the *Satapathabrahmāṇa* (No. 10412) is dated A. D. 1522. This copy was written 59 years later than the copy of Sāyana's *Sāmavedārtha-prakāśa* (dated A. D. 1463) in the Limaye collection.

I close this note on the oldest dated Ms of the *Sāmavedārtha-prakāśa* with a request to scholars for reporting to me any Ms of Sāyana's commentary on the *Sāmaveda* or the *Rgveda* copied earlier than A. D. 1463.

APPENDIX*

The following specimen list shows the variants of the text of the *Sāmavedaprakāśa* as found in the *Bibliotheca Indica* Edition of 1874-78 and the oldest dated Ms of the work in the Limaye collection of the B. O. R. Institute copied in A. D. 1463.

Bibliotheca Edition Limaye coll. Ms of Saṁvat 1520 = A. D. 1463

Page	Line	Reading	Fol.	Line	Reading
1	11	आदिशत्	1	3	आदिदीशत्
2	1	स्तोमशब्देनोत्पत्तिषु	1 ^b	6	स्तोमशब्देन ज्योति- ष्टोमादिषु
2	3	कतमावाव तानि	1 ^b	7	कतमानि तानि
2	7	°स्तोपेताः	1 ^b	9	°भेदौपेताः
2	11	चतुर्भिंशत्	1 ^b	11	om. चिंशत्
2	13	नन्वथ ये	2 ^a	1	नन्वयाथ
2	17	आशाञ्छिद्ग्रान्तः	2 ^a	3	°चिद्ग्रान्तः
2	21	विंशोऽभि°	2	5	°विंशोऽपि
3	7	स्तोत्रियम्	2 ^a	8	स्तोत्रम्
प्रथमोऽध्यायः					
4	7	अस्मै	4	12	अस्मा
5	1	अस्यशिश्रयन्	2 ^b	2	अस्यश्रीणन्
7	4	दविषुतत्या रुचा	2 ^b	5	adds शुक्रा उज्ज्वला before पुतया घोत- मानया रुचा

* Prepared by Mr. M. M. Patkar of the B. O. R. Institute.

Bibliotheca Edition			Ms of Sarivat 1520 = A. D. 1463		
Page	Line	Reading	Fol.	Line	Reading
7	4	अतिशयदीप्त्या	2 ^b	5	om. अतिशय
7	5	“ गवाशिरः ” गवाशिरः	2 ^b	6	गवाशिरो भवन्ति भवन्ति
7	10	स्तोत्रैः स्मर्यमाणः	2 ^b	8	स्तोत्रैः प्रेर्यमाणो
12	1	कृतस्य योनि	3 ^a	11	omits योनि
अध्याय १ खण्ड २					
14	5	अङ्गनादिगुणविशिष्टं त्वम्	3 ^b	2	°गुणविशिष्टत्वं
			3 ^b	6	adds अंगारसूपवा before अंगिरसः उत्र वा etc.
15	8	बृहदग्ने सुवीर्यम्	3 ^b	8	बृहदग्ने सुवीर्यम्
15	13	तत्त्वोऽग्निमयेत्येवैतदाहेति	3 ^b	10	तत्त्वो गमयेत्येवैतदाहेति
16	8	मधुरेण सुरसेन	4 ^a	2	मधुरेण सुस्वरसेन
16	14	यदात्र बृहच्छंसः	4 ^a	5	यद्वा उरु बृहच्छंसः
17	2	लक्षणाभियुक्तो	4 ^a	6	लक्षणाभिवागभियुक्तो
18	3	सदो मम	4 ^b	1	समो मम
18	6	तदर्थ	4 ^b	2	तदर्थ
18	6	यमिदं	4 ^b	2	मदीयमिदं
19	6	सुतवन्तः	4 ^b	7	सुतवन्तः
19	7	आभिषुतैः	4 ^b	7	आभिषुतैश्च
20	12	स्वर्गादिक्षलणप्राप्तौ	5 ^a	4	°लक्षणफलप्राप्तौ
20	13	महायथौ यज्ञः	5 ^a	4	महायथूतः यज्ञः
20	15	युवामभिगच्छति	5 ^a	5	युवामातिगच्छति
21	10	सोमयागेन तृम्यतां	5 ^b	1	सोमपानेन तृम्यतां
अध्याय १ खण्ड ३					
23	10	अर्यः अभिगच्छन्तः	5 ^b	9	आर्योऽभिगच्छन्तो
41	7	त्वं कृतस्य	6 ^a	2	त्वं कृतस्य
42	9	अङ्गवान् सन्	6 ^a	8	अङ्गवने सन् ?
42	10	दातुमतिगच्छसि	6 ^a	8	दातुमभिगच्छसि
42	11	धौतः	6 ^a	9	धौतः
43	3	नृभिर्घोता	6 ^a	10	नृभिद्धौता
78	6	प्रकर्षेणागच्छ	6 ^b	2	प्रकर्षेण गच्छ
80	4	अपीच्यां	6 ^b	10	अपीच्यां

अध्याय १ संपर्क ४

Bibliotheca Edition			Ms of Sainivat 1520 = A. D. 1463		
Page	Line	Reading	Fol.	Line	Reading
84	9	त्वावान् “ न जातः ”	7 ^a	9	त्वावानन्यो न जायते
84	9	त्वावान् “ न जातः ”	7 ^a	9	त्वावानन्यो न जायते
84	10	त्वादशः	7 ^a	10	त्वसद्वशः
89	6	“ जरितृणाम् ” अविता	7 ^b	7	जरितृणाम् स्तोतृणा- मविता
92	6	बाजं	8 ^a	6	बाजं
92	7	दीप्तिमन्तं निवासस्थानम्	8 ^a	6	दीप्तिनां निवासं
92	9	आच्छादितम्	After आच्छादितम् and before पुनः कीदृशम् the Ms adds the following :— आवरणे हृष्टान्तः। गिरि न । तविषीभिर्बलयुक्तैर्घेरांवृत्तं पर्वतमिव स्थितं ।		
92	10	“ पुरुमजसम् ”	8 ^a	7	पुरुभोजसम्
92	12	दु क्षु क्षये	8 ^a	9	दु क्षु शब्दे
101	8	बाधासहिताः	8 ^b	2	बाधायुक्ताः सहिताः
102	1	शोभनहनुकं	8 ^b	6	शोभनहनु
102	5	सोमलक्षणस्याक्षस्य	8 ^b	8	सोमलक्षणाक्षस्य
अध्याय १ संपर्क ५					
106	5	हिरण्येन हते	9 ^a	2	हिरण्येन हतं
115	13	“ महि ” महनीयः	9 ^a	9	महि महान् महनीयः वा
116	7	शृष्टः	9 ^b	1	शृष्टः
122	10	“ भराय ”	9 ^b	6	अयं भराय
122	11	“ इन्द्रायै ” “ पवते ”	9 ^b	6	इन्द्राय इन्द्रायै पवते
122	13	चतुर्थ्यथ षष्ठी	9 ^b	7	चतुर्थ्यथे चतुर्थ्यथे चतुर्थ्यथे चतुर्थ्यथे चतुर्थ्यथे
omitted in the edition			9 ^b	9	आ अनंतरामिन्द्रः
132	5	अपवाध	10 ^a	4	अपवाधस्त्रं
132	5	श्वा	10 ^a	4	आ
167	1	सुखत्वेन	10 ^b	6	सुखत्वेन
167	7	उभयोः			omits उभयोः
अध्याय १ संपर्क ६					
175	11	चान्दसोलुक	11 ^b	2	छान्दसोलुक
176	2	निधात-प्रतिवेदः	11 ^b	5	निधातप्रतिवेदः
176	10	प्रशंस	11 ^b	8	प्रशंसे

Bibliotheca Edition			Ms of Satiyat 1520=A. D. 1463		
Page	Line	Reading	Fol.	Line	Reading
176	13	—	11 ^b	9	after दयाम and before उत्तरिष्य च the Ms adds the following :— “स चाग्निर्वज्जेषु अवि- तास्माकं रक्षिता भुव- द्धवत् वृधे वर्धकश्चा- स्माकं भुवद्धवत् ।
183	11	पूरकम्	12 ^a	2	पूरकः
184	6	वर्तमाने	12 ^a		omits वर्तमाने
	omitted in the edition		12 ^b		before आधाहि adds the following :— हे गिर्वणो गीर्भिर्वृननीयेन्द्र वर्णत्वाय
190	13	वर्णत्वाय	13 ^a	2	

THE FORMATION OF KONKANI*

BY

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Third Person, Remote Demonstrative and Correlative Pronoun

§ 249. While the first and second person pronouns separate themselves from the ordinary group of adjectives in not having different forms for the three genders, the other pronouns agree with this class by having separate forms for the three genders.
sing. plur.

Direct	masc. <i>to</i> , fem. <i>ti</i> , neut. <i>tē</i>	masc. <i>te</i> , fem. <i>tyo</i> , neut. <i>ti</i>
Oblique	masc. } <i>tā</i> , fem. <i>ti</i> neut. }	masc. } neut. } <i>tā</i> fem.

Thus the distinction between masc. and neut. is only in the direct case, and between masc. and fem. in the direct sing. and plur. and oblique sing. only. The regular postpositions apply to oblique forms given above, as in the case of substantives or adjectives.

The origin of the direct forms is to be traced to the oblique in OI-A. and MI-A. forms *tasya* : *tassa* from which the regular oblique forms are obtained. The *-o* of the masc. form and the *-ē* of the neut. show that all the Konkani forms derive from the *.-ka-* extension of the corresponding OI-A. forms.

As in all modern I-A. languages the third person is also used as the remote demonstrative pronoun for which there are no separate forms. It is also used as the correlative pronoun.

Proximate Demonstrative Pronoun

§ 250. The forms are :

The verbs are
sing. plur.

Direct masc. *ho*, fem. *hi* neut. *hē* masc. *hō*, fem. *hyo*, neut. *hī*
 Oblique masc. neut. *hā*, fem. *hī* masc. fem. neut. *hā*

As above, these forms derive from the *-ka-* extension of OI-A. *esa-*, or more possibly from Vedic *asakau*.

All the postpositions employed with nouns are also used with this pronoun.

Relative Pronoun

§ 251. The relative pronoun *jo*, *ji*, *jē* (Sk. *ya-ka-*) gives the following scheme:

* Continued from the Annals Vol. XX Part (i) p. 48.

7 [Annals, B, O. R, I.]

sing.	plur.
Direct masc. <i>jo</i> , fem. <i>jī</i> , neut. <i>jē</i>	masc. <i>je</i> , fem. <i>jye</i> , neut. <i>jī</i>
Oblique masc. neut. <i>~ā</i> , fem. <i>ji</i>	masc. fem. neut. <i>jā</i>

Father Stephens (*Arte*, § 91) records for the fem. obl. plur. the form $\hat{z}i$ (i. e. in his transcription : *zi*).

§ 252. Father Stephens (*Arie*, § 93) quotes also the following oblique forms:

	sing.	plur.
<i>to</i>	fem. <i>tie</i> . neut. <i>teā</i> masc.	fem. <i>tia</i> , nasc. neut. <i>tea</i>
<i>ho</i>	fem. <i>hie</i> , masc. neut. <i>hya</i>	fem. <i>hi^a</i> , masc. neut. <i>heā</i>
<i>zo</i>	fem. <i>zie</i> , masc. neut. <i>zea</i>	fem. <i>zi</i> , masc. neut. <i>zea</i>

Interrogative Pronoun

§ 253. The forms are :

sing.	plur.
Direct masc. <i>kōnu</i> , fem. <i>kōni</i> , neut. <i>kōna</i>	masc. f. neut. <i>kona</i>
Oblique masc. <i>kōnū</i>	masc. f. neut. <i>konā</i>

For the Instrumental we have for all genders and numbers the form *kon-ë*.

Observe that the difference in gender so far as this pronoun is concerned is the least, now surviving in the direct case only in s. gs. and old gx. as given by Father Stephens. In all other dialects the distinction is lost.

The origin of this form is to be traced to Apabhramsha *kavāṇu*. On its cognates in Pali and other languages see *L'indo-aryen* p. 202.

Reflexive Pronoun

§ 254. The forms noticed are :

	sing.				plur.			
Direct	s. gs.	x.	m. f. n.	$\bar{a}p(p)a\eta a$	s. gs.	m. f. n.	$\bar{a}p(p)a\eta a$	
	gs.	nx.		$\bar{a}pu\eta$	gs.	nx.	$\bar{a}pu\eta$	
	gx.			$\bar{a}pa\eta a$ or $\bar{a}po\eta$			$\bar{a}pa\eta a$ or $\bar{a}po\eta$	
Oblique	s. gs.	x. nx.		$\bar{a}p\eta \bar{a}$	s. gs.	nx. x.	$\bar{a}p\eta \tilde{a}$	
	gs.			$\bar{a}pny\bar{a}$	gs.		$\bar{a}pny\tilde{a}$	

For the instrumental sing. form, we have, in addition to the usual pronominal form *āpnē*, *āpnā-nē*.

For the genitive we have two types of the *-lo* forms : *āpyā-lo* and *āp-lo*.

Like cognate forms in all NI-A. languages Konkani *āp(p)aṇa* is derived from Sk. *ātman*, Pk. *appā*,¹ *attā* through the genitive in MI-A. *oppāṇo* in sing. and *oppāṇam* in the plur.

Pronominal adjectives

§ 255 From the relative, demonstrative and interrogative pronouns we have the following adjectives: *jit-lo*, *it-lo*, *tillo* and *kit-lo*.

Konkani s. gs. *keddo* x. gx. nx. *kedo* corresponds to Marāṭhi *kevळhā*, deriving from MI-A. *kevaḍḍhaa-* (cf. *L'indo-aryen*, p. 203).

Similar to *jullo*, *tit-lo*, *kitlo* and *itlo* we have s. gs. *jas-lo*, *taslo*, *kaslo* and *aslo*.

CONJUGATION

§ 256. The verbal system of Konkani, like the nominal system, is based largely on a simplification of the OI-A. and MI-A. systems, both in phonology as well as in morphology. Already in Sanskrit the Subjunctive had disappeared and the complex Vedic morphology of the verbs into the present, perfect and Aorist systems with modal forms was limited only to the present system. But certain features lost in the classical Sanskrit stage were preserved in the early MI-A. dialects, and these archaisms are seen in many NI-A. languages in the North-West of India. For these survivals see *L'indo-aryen*, pp. 237-38. The nominal phrase system had already replaced the earlier Vedic verbal system in the Epic age under favourable circumstances and the only living system of the verbal forms consisted of the Indicative of the present and Future and the Imperative of the present.

As a result of this gradual change the NI-A. verbal system is based on two groups of forms. (1) a group which may properly be called the verbal group, reposing on the present system of OI-A. and (2) a group comprising nominal forms more or less dependent on the above group.

¹ MI-A. *appa-* is to be traced to the *abhinidhāna* doctrine of the Prātiśākhyas which gives the insertion of the stop corresponding to the nasal in group stop + nasal. Thus Sk. *ātman* must have been pronounced as **ātpman* >**ātpman* >MI-A. *appa-*

For a general survey of the verbal themes in Marathi see Jules Bloch, *Formation de la langue marathe*, § 228 ff. (pp. 225ff) and for New-Indo-Aryan, *L'indo-aryen*, pp. 238ff.

Themes

§ 257. The MI-A. verbal themes depend on the following two systems of OI-A: 1° The present system on which is based the present and future indicative, the present imperative, the present participle and the infinitive; 2° The past passive participle.

§ 258. The roots of Konkani are either active or passive in sense, the passive being intransitive and the active being transitive. Roots have a simple as well as a causal form. The three sources of the verbal bases are; (a) Present active bases, (b) Present passive bases and (c) Past passive participles of OI-A.

§ 259. As in Marathi (*La langue marathe*, § 329) only two verbs in Konkani have conserved traces of the old alternance between the strong and weak stems: *mar-tā*, *kar-tā*: *me-llo*, *ke-llo*. On this analogy other themes derived from OI-A. bases in *-ṛ-* show similar alternance: s. gs. (*vharti*): *vhello-* (OI-A. *apa-hṛ-*)

Elsewhere the opposition between the themes is maintained by suppletism:

s. gs. <i>va-ttā</i> , inf. <i>vočūka</i> "to go"	ppp. <i>ge-llo</i> (OI-A. <i>gala-</i>) (OI-A. <i>vrtya-</i>)
s. gs. <i>āsūka</i> "to be" (Sk. <i>ākṣetī</i>) ¹	<i>jā-llo</i> (<i>jāla-</i>)

§ 260. When the Konkani theme is based on an earlier verbal base, it is generally that of the present. Of the traces of the different classes of verbal bases we have themes with the suffixes *-a-*: *khā-uṁk* (*khādati*), *khan-uṁk* (*khanati*), *mor-uṁk* (*marate*), *baisūk* (*upa-vitati*), etc.

Themes with the suffix *-aya-*: s. gs. *uḍḍūka* (*uḍḍayati*), *kāppūka* (*kalpayati*), *čābbūka* (*carvayati*), *māggūka* (*mārgayati*), etc. In general all causatives belong to this class.

Themes with the suffix *-ya-*: s. gs. *ubjalā* (*ul-padyate*), *māmūčūka* (*nrtyati*), ns. ngs. *mānnūka* (*manyate*), etc. Under this category come all the passive verbs of OI-A.: s. gs. *dissūka* (*drśyate*), *voččūka* (**vrtyate*), etc.

¹ BSOS. 8. 795-812.

Themes with a nasal : s. gs. *jāñ-tā* (*jāñāti*) ; *bāñd-tā* (*bandhati*, *badhnāti*), *vind-tā* (MI-A. *vindh-i*, OI-A. *vyadh-*), *sindūka* (MI-A. *chinda-i*, OI-A. *chid-*).

In the case of s. gs. *bhetūka* (OI-A. *bhettum*) we have a base deriving from the infinitive, just as in *jāgaytā* (OI-A. *jāgrat-*) we have one from the present participle.

§ 261. A very large number of Konkani verbal bases are derived from the past passive participle of OI-A. : s. gs. *bhāg-ūku*, *bhāgg-ūku* (*bhagna-*), *lāggūka* (*lagna-* or *lagyate*) *sukk-ūka* (*suṣka-*), *kāl-ūka* (OI-A. *kr̥ṣṭa-*; MI-A. *kaḍha-*), *ghāt-ūka* (*ghṛṣṭa-*) etc.

Some of these, like s. gs. *lāgg-ūka*, may be derived alternatively from the present passive base or the past passive participle, but in the active voice. A majority of these verbs are intransitive in nature, but a few exceptions like *kāl-ūka*, *ghāt-ūka* are transitive in character.

§ 262. From the nature of its derivation many a verbal theme shows a semantic gradation : s. gs. *ghāt-tā* "churns" in opposition to *ghās-tā* "polishes". Similarly *mar-tā* (*marate*) "dies" in opposition to *mār-tā* (*mārayati*) "beats".

§ 263. The causatives are formed in several ways. The example quoted in the preceding paragraph shows an exceptional formation with a definite semantic change in the root meaning itself and cannot be brought under the system of causative formation in Konkani. The chief characteristic is the *-aya-* morpheme which becomes *-ava-* in the infinitive formation, added on to the simple forms.

1°. With *vṛddhi* of the radical vowel of the simple root and the morpheme *-aya-*: s. gs. *pad-tā* : *pāday-tā* (OI-A. *patati*, MI-A. *pada-i*); naturally the *vṛddhi* affects only the radical *-a-*.

2°. By the simple addition of the *-aya-* morpheme without any change in the radical vowel : *bas-tā* : *basay-tā* (*upa-viśati*); *mār-tā* : *māray-tā* (*mārayati*); *kar-tā* : *karay-tā* (*karoti* : *kārayati*); *čor-tā* : *coray-tā* (OI-A. *corayati*), *tuk-tā* : *tukkay-tā* (*tulayati*), *vik-tā* : *vikay-tā* (*vikri-*).

3°. In a few cases the morpheme *-aya-* is replaced by the Sanskrit causal base of *kr̥-*: *kāraya-* : *bas-tā*, *basay-tā* : *bas-kāray-tā* (*upa-viśati*); *nidd-a-tā*, *niddā-y-tā* : *nid-kāray-tā*; *ut(t)āy-tā* : *ut-kāraytā* : in this case we have already the *-aya-* morpheme in

the simplex, and the causative is formed with the morpheme *-kāraya-* added on to the original radical *ut-* (Sk. *utthā-*, Pk. *utthā-*). Similarly we have s. gs. *ubra-tā* : *ubra-kāray-tā*, "stands" "causes to stand".

4°. In the case of themes ending in vowels in MI-A. and Konkānī, we have the morpheme *-vaya-* instead of *-aya-*: s. gs. *khā-tā* : *khā-vay-tā* (*khād-*) ; *pi-tā* ; *pi-vay-tā* (OI-A. *piba-* MI-A. *pia-*).

5°. Father Maffei (p. 133) says that of the verbs ending in *ñ* (i. e. in our system *v* through OI-A. *-m-*) some are made causative by adding *-dāi* and changing the *ñ* into *n* : gx. x. *dāuñ* "to run" : *dāundāi* "cause to run". This statement is due to misunderstanding the nature of the verbal themes. In such cases we have denominatives from nominal extensions of the primitive verbal bases. Thus s. gs. *dhāvītā* : *dhāvay-tā* (rather a rare formation) may be opposed to s. gs. *dhāv-dā-y-tā* which is a denominative of s. gs. *dhāvandi* f. the act of running. It has nothing to do with the morpheme *-ād*¹ of Gujarati or *-ār-* of Sindhi. The suffix *-vāndi* (Sk. **vṛnda-ka*, **vṛnd-i-kā*) is similarly added to OI-A. *bhram-*, s. gs. *bhōv-* and we have *bho-vāndi* "the act of moving round, walking, strolling," whence are derived Kon. *bhōv-tā*, *bhōv-ay-tā*, *bhōvdā-y-tā*. The denominative feature of the examples quoted above are beyond suspicion.

6°. A few verbs borrowed from Kanarese follow the Kannada pattern for causal formation: s. gs. *baraitā* : *barsuy-tā*, old gx. (Fr. Stephens, § 119) gives on this pattern the OI-A. verb *bhogtā* *bhogosita* corresponding to s. gs. *bhog-tā* : *bhoggay-tā*.

§ 264. In such cases where the simplex itself is in appearance a causative, e. g. s. gs. *jāg-ay-tā* "awakens," we have the true simplex in a derived form: *jāgi jattā* "wakes up."

In the formation of the causative bases above I have given the normal indicative present form instead of the usual infinitive to understand better the morpheme which transforms the simple base into the causative. Rangel in his *Gramatica da Lingua Concani* prefers to treat in a very meagre and cursory fashion

¹ In s. gs. *bhītā*, x. *bhīyetā* : *bhisdātyā* we have perhaps the same phenomenon as in Gujarati and Sindhi, for the nominal form is s. gs. *bhīdi*. This is probably a borrowing in Konkānī. Again in the s. gs. forms *pind-tā* : *pin-drāy-tā* we have the morpheme *-rāy-*, i. e., **-ar-āya-*

(p. 172, §§318, 319) the denominatives and causatives, and gives the infinitive ending *-unc*, *-onc*, (our *-umk* or *-omk*) for denominatives and *ounc* (our *-oumk*) for causatives. Other grammars of Konkani also use the infinitive forms to illustrate the derivation of themes.

§ 265. The regularising process in the dialects of Konkani may be illustrated very well indeed by a study of these causal formations. A few examples will suffice here. Corresponding to the first type of causatives in new Indo-Aryan which is characterised by the *gunating* of the radical vowel (see *L'indo-aryen*, p. 242) we have Hindi, Marathi, Kashmiri *mar-* "to die": *mār-* "to beat" found also in the dialects of Konkani. But in the following cases we have the regular forms:

Mar. *tut-nē* : *tod-nē* corresponds to s. gs. *thum̥t-tā*: *thum̥t-ay-tā*.
Hindi *chut-nā*: *chor-nā* " *sut-tā*: *sutt-ay-tā*.

Similarly corresponding to the second type of causatives (*L'indo-aryen*, p. 244) we have in

Hindi <i>ukh-nā</i> : <i>sukhā-na</i>	but in Konk. s. gs. <i>suk-tā</i> : <i>sukk-ay-tā</i>
<i>pak-nā</i> : <i>pakā-nā</i>	<i>pik-tā</i> : <i>pikk-ay-tā</i>
<i>bāj-nā</i> : <i>bajā-nā</i>	<i>vāj-tā</i> : <i>vājjay-tā</i>
	etc.

Thus both types have merged in Konkani and examples like *pād-tā*: *pād-ay-tā* are rather illustrations of the two processes coming together for normalizing the causative formation.

Flexion

§ 266. It is interesting to note here that s. gs. have simplified greatly the regular flexion of verbs corresponding to the Christian dialects. Instead of the distinct personal desinences belonging to the three persons s. gs. have generalized them into a normal form for the plural and two only for the singular-first: second-third.

The Present Indicative or Historic Present in Konkani dialects

§ 267. The desinences of OI-A. for the present indicative have survived up to the new Indo-Aryan stage giving us the normal inflexion in the new I-A. speech. The following table of correspondences of these desinences will make their connexion clear :

OI-A	MI-A.	Apabhrāmśa	Koṅkaṇī
Sing. 1 -āmi	-āmi	-ānī, -āvī, -ā	-ā (s. gs. x. nx. gx.)
2 -asi	-asi	-āsi, -āhi	gx. -āsi, x. mgx. -āi
3 -ati	-āi	-āi	-ā (s. gs. x. nx. gx.)
Plur. 1 -āmaḥ (āmo)	-āmo	-āhū	x. nx. gx. -āū, s. gs. āti
2 -atha	-aha	-aha, -ahu	ogx. -āth, x. nx. -āl, s. gs. -āti.
3 -anti	-anti	-anti, ahi	ogx. s. gs. -āti, n. nx.

Thus we have in Koṅkaṇī :

Sing.		Plur.
1 x. nx. gx. zātā̄, s. gs. jāt(t)ā̄		x. nx. gx. zātā̄, s. gs. jāt(t)āti
2 ogx. zātā̄si, x. nx. gx. zātā̄i, s. gs. jāt(t)ā̄		ogx. zātā̄th, x. nx. gx. zātā̄l, s. gs. jāt(t)āti
3 x. nx. gx. zātā̄, s. gs. jāt(t)ā̄		ogx. zātā̄ti, s. gs. jātā̄ti, x. nx. gx. zātā̄t

From the root meaning "to be" we have :

Sing.		Plur.
1 gx. x. nx. ātā̄, s. gs. āssa		x. nx. gx. āsā̄u, s. gs. āssati
2 ogx. āsā̄si, x. nx. gx. āsai, s. gs. āssa		ogx. āsā̄th, x. nx. gx. āsā̄l, s. gs. āssati
3 gx. x. nx. āsā̄, s. gs. āssa		ogx. āsā̄ti, s. gs. āssati, x. nx. gx. āsā̄t

§ 268. From the two examples quoted above we see clearly both the relationship and the difference between Koṅkaṇī and Marāṭhī. In old Marāṭhī the desinences are directly added to the verbal base in opposition to the participial base of modern Marāṭhī in *-t*. In Koṅkaṇī, already during Father Stephen's time, the participial base in *-t* had replaced the regular base, and the desinences were added to this base. The only partial exception to this is the root "to be", s. gs. āssūka, x. nx. gx. āsumk, in the singular where the direct root is adjoined to the terminations.

In the plural formation we have for the first person gx. nx. āstā̄ū in addition to āsā̄u, s. gs. āstā̄ti in addition to āssati; these alternative forms show continuity of action in addition to the present indicative sense. In the case of all other verbal bases the participial theme replaces the simple indicative base of the present. Alternatively if a *t*- be affixed to the desinences quoted in the preceding article, we get the desinences of the present added to the simple root.

§ 269. *Notes on the Desinences of the present.*—From the phonological point of view there is some difficulty in explaining the first person sing. and plur. terminations. A possible suggestion has been made by Jules Bloch (*L'indo-aryen*, p. 247) that these may have been affected by the pronoun of the first person *haū*. Thus Konkani \bar{a} is connected with Panjabi and Sindhi \bar{a} , resulting perhaps from the premature dropping of the final *-i* of OI-A. $-\bar{a}mi$ (*La langue marathe*, § 236, p. 234). For a slightly parallel but different explanation see Louis H. Gray : Observations on Middle Indian Phonology. *BSOS.* 8. 567ff.

In the second person sing. gx. $-\bar{a}si$ or $-asi$ we have the survival of O & MI-A. $-\bar{a}si$, whereas in x. modgx. nx. $-\bar{a}i$ (* $-a-ai$) we have the Apabhramsha ending $-\bar{a}hi$. Similarly in the plur. form old gx. of Father Stephens preserves the archaic $-\bar{a}tha$, lost elsewhere. The x. nx. modgx. s. gs. $-\bar{a}t(i)$ for the second person is clearly taken over from the third person plur. form. In s. gs, this has replaced both the first and second person endings.

The participial themes of Konkani differ from the corresponding themes of Marathi in that the inflexion does not show any differences of gender which characterise Marathi.

§ 270. For a discussion of the sense of this Present Indicative in modern I-A. languages see Bloch, *La langue marathe*, § 238 (p. 236ff.).

Imperative

§ 271. The terminations of the Imperative in Konkani are as follows:—

Sing.	Plur.
1 old gx. mod. gx. missing, (Maffei, p. 109) <i>-un-gi</i>	old gx. s. gs. $-\bar{u}-y\bar{a}$, x. $-i-\bar{a}$
2 old gx. s. gs. $-i$, x. gx. nx. zero	old gx. $-y\bar{a}$, s. gs. $-y\bar{e}$, x. $-i-\bar{a}$, gx. $-\bar{a}t$, s. gs. $-\bar{a}ti$
3 old gx. and mod. gx. $-\bar{u}$, x. $-\bar{u}-di$ s. gs. $-\bar{o}$	old gx. $-\bar{u}nti$, mod. gx. $-\bar{u}$, x. $-\bar{u}ndi$ s. gs. $-\bar{o}ti$

Characteristically the first person imperative is never used in Konkani dialects except in Maffei's Grammar in the singular, but the plural is attested in all the dialects. The plural appears to be connected with the optative ending, cf. Pali *vatteyyam*, *vatteyyamho*, or *o -yyāmo*.

The second person singular in s. gs. and old gx. *-i* is connected with OI-A. *-(d)hi*, which has already become *-i* in Apabhrāma cf. Alsdorf, *Harivaiñśapurāṇa*, p. 169). The zero grade in x. nx. mod. gx. represents the OI-A. and MI-A. *-a* as in *gaccha*. The old gx., s. gs. *-yā* is in analogy with the first person plural form, the nasalisation disappearing naturally, being connected only with the first person.

The third person sing. old and mod. gx. *-ū*, s. gs. *-o* is derived from OI-A. *-atu*, MI-A. *-au*. The nasalisation in the Christian dialects perhaps derives from the plural *-antu* of OI-A. preserved by them in the form *-ūnt(i)*. In s. gs. *-oti* we find reminiscences of Marāṭhi *-ot*, *-ūt*, see *La langue marathe*, p. 237.

§ 271. The desinences of the Future in Konkani are as follows:—

Sing.	Plur.
1. old gx. s. gs. <i>-īna</i> , x. <i>-ān</i> , gx. <i>-īn</i>	old gx. <i>-ū</i> , s. gs. <i>-ū</i> , gx. <i>-īū</i>
2 old gx. <i>-īśi</i> , s. gs. <i>-śi</i> , x. nx. gx. <i>-īśi</i>	old gx. <i>-śātha</i> , s. gs. x. nx. gx. <i>-śūt</i> , <i>-śyāt</i> , old gx. <i>śyāthā</i>
3 old gx. s. gs. <i>-īta</i> , x. <i>-ūt</i> , gx. <i>-īt</i>	old gx. <i>-īti</i> , s. gs. , x. nx. gx. <i>-ītī</i>

Notes on the terminations:— 1° sing. *-īn(a)* corresponds to Marathi *-īn*, and x. *-ān* corresponds to Mar. *-en*; the final *-n* is believed to be *-l* after a nasal vowel, Bloch, *La langue marathe*, §§ 72, 240, a *-l* which characterises the entire future formation in Marāṭhi. The plur. *-ū*, seen also in the present indicative and imperative, is parallel to Marāṭhi development, depending partly upon the confusion existing between these three senses and partly upon the absolute form in *-unu*.

2° sing.: the *-i* form of Mar. is conspicuous here by its absence, as in the remaining persons, but resembles the Mar. form in other respects. The plur. is quite regularly formed from the sigmatic future of OI-A. with present termination.

3° sing.: x. *ūt*, gx. *-īt* and old gx. s. gs. *-īta*, though allied to Mar. terminations, sing. *-ātīl*, plur. *-ītīl*, present some difficulty. The plur. differs from the sing. by the participial *-tī*.

§ 272. In addition to the forms studied above Konkani gives a second type of future formation based upon the present participle. Father Stephens, § 152 : *soditālo*, Father Maffei, p. 108 : *nidlo-lo*, Rangel, p. 113 : *kālto* etc. showing the present participle *l* + personal endings or suffixes (masc. fem. or neut.). This usage is current in all Konkani dialects: s. gs. *hāva vat-lo* masc., *vat-li* fem. "I shall go".

§ 273. Father Stephens, § 154, gives another future formation: *hāvē*, (*tūvē, tānnē*), *jarī sodisso*, *-i, -ē*, but its usage is not clear. The contingent future mentioned by Father Maffei, p. 108, *nid-lo-āstolō*, corresponds s. gs. *niddatā-silō* which is in effect *niddatā-āśilō* "I would have slept, I might have slept." Other forms are in effect not simple but compound tenses used in modern Indo-European languages of India or Europe.

Imperfect or Past

§ 274. The terminations of the Past are as follows:

	masc.	fem.	neut.
Sing. 1 s. gs. x. gx. <i>-lo</i> ,	s. gs. x. gx. <i>-li</i>	s. gs. x. gx. <i>-lē</i>	
2 s. gs. <i>-lo</i> , x. <i>-loi</i> ,	" <i>-li</i>	s. gs. <i>-lē</i> , x. <i>lēi</i>	
gx. <i>-losi</i> ;			
3 s. gs. x. gx. <i>-lo</i> :	s. gs. x. gx. <i>-lī</i>	s. gs. x. gx. <i>-lē</i>	
Plur. 1 s. gs. <i>-lī</i> , gx. <i>-lēu</i> ,	For all genders.		
x. <i>-lyāū</i>			
2 s. gs. <i>-le</i> , (masc.)	For all genders.		
<i>-lī</i> , gx. <i>-lyāth</i> ,			
x. <i>-lyāt</i>			
3 s. gs. { <i>-le</i>	s. gs. <i>-lī</i> , <i>-lyo</i> ,	s. gs. <i>-lī</i>	
x. gx. {	s. gx. <i>-lyo</i>	x. <i>-lī</i> , gx. <i>-li</i>	

Notes on the terminations.—The Brahmin dialects s. gs. etc. do not show any personal terminations except in the first singular *-ō* of the masculine. The Christian dialects, however, show them in the second person sing. and plur.

§ 275. The *-la* suffix goes to the MI-A. group of suffixes *-alla-*, *-illa-*, *-ulla-*, marking in new I-A. primarily the past passive participle so far as Mar. and Konk. are concerned. Two types are seen in Konkani: (1) The suffixes are added on to the simple root: x. *nid-lo*, s. gs. *nidda-lo*; (2) the suffixes are added to the participial base: x. *nid-tā-loi*, s. gs. *niddatā-lo*, old gx. *soditā-lo*, etc.

The terminations added to the simple verbal base give us the completed action, while those added to the participial base give us the durative past. The difference may easily be compared to that existing between English 'He slept' and 'He was sleeping.'

The syntactic difference between the transitive and intransitive may easily be gathered from the following examples in s. gs. -*hāva niddalō* 'I slept,' -^o*niddatā-lo* 'I was sleeping'; *hāva tākkā sodtā-lo* 'I was seeking him', *hāvē tākkā sodlo* 'I sought him out.' The entire problem will be discussed in detail in the section dealing with Syntax below. For a treatment of this subject connected with Marāthī see Bloch, *La langue marathe*, pp. 249-253.

§ 276. In addition to the Imperfect and Past tenses discussed above, Konkani has a Perfect and its terminations are as follows:

Sing.	Plur.
1. s. gs. x. - <i>ta</i> (m.), - <i>lyā</i> (f.), - <i>lā</i> , - <i>lē</i> (n.)	x. - <i>lyālā</i> , s. gs. - <i>lyati</i> (mf.)
2. s. gs. - <i>lā</i> (m.), - <i>lyā</i> (f.) - <i>lē</i> (n.) } x. - <i>lāi</i> (m.) - <i>lyāi</i> (f.), - <i>lyai</i> }	s. gs. - <i>lyāti</i> , x. - <i>lyāt</i> (mf.)
3. s. gs. x. - <i>lā</i> (m.), - <i>lyā</i> (f.), - <i>lā</i> - <i>lē</i> (n.)	s. gs. - <i>lyāti</i> , x. - <i>lyāt</i> (mf.), - <i>lyānt</i> (n.)

The significance of this form may best be understood by the English equivalent 'I have loved,' 'I have done,' etc.

The origin of these terminations is the same as of the past or imperfect, the difference so far as x. dialects go being seen in the colouring of the vowel, -*o* going with the Imperfect and Past, -*ā* going with the Perfect.

§ 277. Corresponding to this Perfect, we have a Past Perfect obtained by adding the -*la* suffixes to the oblique of the past passive participle: *gello*, *gellelo* 'gone,' 'had gone'. The terminations for the x. dialect are given by Father Maffei on p. 88 of his Grammar. For the old gx. forms see Father Stephens, § 128, p. 39.

In the case of the Perfect the -*ā* colouring is due to contamination with present participial endings: s. gs. *kartā* etc.

Observe also that s. gs. have one form for the three plural endings, and have no terminations for the second person singular corresponding to those seen x. gx. and other Christian dialects.

Optative

§ 278. The optative forms are an interesting survival in the dialects of Konkani, having the following terminations :—

s. gs. *-ye(du)*, x. *-tye(t)*.

Examples : s. gs. *koryeda*, *vocyeda*, *māryeda*, etc. ‘may do, may go, may beat’; x. *zāvyet*, *ūssāyet*, *nid-iyet* ‘may happen, may be, may sleep’ in the sense of permission or allowance.

The origin of this formation which is the same for all persons and numbers in all the dialects, is to be traced to OI-A. *ita*, (*kurvita*), *-ēt* (*gacchet*) etc. The *-ya-* of the optative forms is preserved in K., and the form shows an interesting semi-tatsama by preserving both characteristics of the OI-A. formation.

For a parallel development of a vocable compare OI-A. *āyatānam* with Konkani s. gs. *āydāna*, x. gx. nx. *āidon*.

§ 279. The optative or potential sense may also be expressed in old gx. by the word *pūro* added to the oblique form of the past passive participle : Father Stephens, § 137 : *sodilyā pūro*.

Father Maffei gives the following forms of the potential, p. 110 ; 1) *nid-iyet*, 2) *nid-unk tānkłā* or *nid-unk tānk ūssā*, 3) *nid-ū* (or *nid-unk*) *pūro*, respectively meaning ‘it is possible or allowed to sleep, there is power to sleep’ and ‘may sleep.’

In s. gs. also the word *pūro* meaning ‘sufficient’ is utilized to express this capacity : *korū(ka) pūro* ‘is able to do,’ ‘may do’ etc. As in x. here too it is added on to the infinitive of the verb of which the optative is to be built.

§ 280. The mood of necessity is also expressed in x. by the imperative *zāi* of the root ‘*zā-unk*’ added on to the simple root or its infinitive form : *nid-ā-zāi* ‘I must sleep,’ *nid-unk zāi* etc. In the Brahmin dialects s. gs. we get the forms *niddomkāja*, *korkāja*, corresponding to g. *niddūmk jai*, *korūmk jai*. From this correspondence it would appear that s. gs. have introduced certain phonological changes difficult of explanation. It is perhaps best to consider two alternatives : the s. gs. form *niddomkā* is the same as *niddomkāja*, and shows that the imperative *jāi* has disappeared or taken the reduced form *ja*; or else we have to con-

sider the potential participle of OI-A. : *-kāryam*, MI-A. *kajjam* and NI-A. *kūj(a)* in combination with the infinitive, meaning 'it is necessary to,' 'it is incumbent upon (one) to' etc.

§ 281. Before proceeding to a disussion of the nominal forms derived from the verbal themes, it is necessary to consider here the negative verb formation of Konkanī which is remarkable for its simplicity, but at the same time shows a peculiarity which is not generally shared by the other cognate languages.

In Marāthī we have the negative forms of *as-nē* and *ho-nē* as follows for the present: *nāhī*, *nāhis*, *nāhī* in the sing., *nāhī*, *nāhī* and *nāhīnt* in the plur. for the root *as-*, and *navhē*, *navhas*, *navhe* in the sing. and *navhō*, *navhā* and *navhet*, or *navhat* in the plur. for the root *ho-*. The negative construction then amounts to using these auxiliary forms with the participial forms of the major verbs: *jāt nāhī*, *°-nāhīs*, *°-nāhī*, etc. or the present, *jhālō (-i, -ē)* *nāhī*, etc. for the past, *hoṇār nāhī* etc. in the future, *jhālō (-i, -ē)* *navhatō (-i, -ē)* for the pluperfect. Only in the past habitual forms we have :

sing.

Plur.

mī hoī-nā

āmīhī hoū-nā

tū hoīs-nā

tumhī vhā-nā or *vhā-nāt*

to, tī tē hoī-nā

te, tyā, tī hot-nā or *hoī-nāt*

in the sense 'I was not wont to become.' Here we get the forms *nā*, *nā(s)*, *nā* in the sing. and *nā*, *nō(t)*, *nā(t)* in the plural.

In addition to this type of negative construction, we have the conditional *mī na hoīō*, (*-ē* fn.), *tū na hoīās* (*°-ās*, *-tēs*), *to (tī, tē) na hoīā* (*hotī* f. *hotē* n.) and the subjunctive *°-nāye* added on to the infinitive, and the imperative with the form *-nako*.

In Gujarati corresponding to the present indicative *hū jāvū chū*. 'I am going' the negative construction is *hū jato (-i f., -ū n.) nāthī, ame jatā (mfn.) nāthī*. Similarly we have *hū nahi jāvū* 'I will not go' and *hū nahi jaīē* 'I shall not go,' the first expressing will and the second futurity.

Comparing the two cases considered above, we notice that Marāthī has properly recognised negative forms of the auxiliary verbs which help in establishing the negative verb inflexion, while Gujarati has only one form *nāthī* which is used for the same purpose, and at times, specially in optative and future forms, its equivalent *nāhi*.

In the dialects of Konkanī, however, the negative of the verb 'to be' or to 'to become' has become merely the negative particle *na* to which are added the same terminations as for the verb *ās-uṅk*:

x. *nā*, *nāi*, *nā* (sing.) and *nāñ*, *nānt*, *nānt* (plur.)

old. x. *nā*, *nāssi*, *nā* (sing.), *nāñ*, *nāthā*, *nāti* (plur.)

s. gs. *nā*, (sing. all persons), *nāti* (plur. all persons).

The above only illustrate the present indicative. Similar forms exist on the basis already discussed above under Imperfect, Past, Future, etc. These inflected forms are added on to the simple verbal theme: s. gs. *sodda-nā*, old gx. *sodi-nā*, x. *nidanā* etc.

§ 282. The past and imperfect forms of the negative verb are as follows:

x. *nātlo* (-i, ē), *nāttoi* (-i,-ē), *nātlo* (-i,-ē); *nātlyāo*, *nātlyāt*, *nātlo* (-yo, -i).

s. gs. *nāśilō* (-i,), *nāśilo* (-i), *nāśilo* (-i,-ē); *nāśile* (-i), *nāśile* (-i), *nāśile* (-i, -ē).

It is clear from this that in s. gs. the forms are really those of the root *ās-uṅk* preceded by the negative particle *na-*; in addition to these forms s. gs. have the participial forms *nāttilo* etc. on the same analogy, but used nominally: *thaī nāttilē hāngā mellē* '(a thing which) was not there was found here'.

This particular type of s. gs. brings us to another variety of negative formation in old gx. Father Stephens gives another form: *na-sodi* as the equivalent of *sodi-nā*. For the past (see § 255, p. 60) he gives *na-soditālo* corresponding to s. gs. *soda-nā* *silo*, *sadi-nā*-*sile*, x. *nidānātlo*. In the succeeding articles Father Stephens quotes a greater number of examples with this type of construction whereby the affirmative forms are merely preceded by the negative particle *na-*.

§ 283. In the case of the Imperative, corresponding to Marāthī *nako* we have the following forms in Konkanī:—

Sing.	Plur.
s. gs. <i>nākā</i>	<i>nākātī</i>
x. nx. <i>nākā</i>	<i>nākāt</i>
old gx. <i>nākā</i>	<i>nākāti</i>

These are added on to the ordinary infinitive forms of the main verbal themes. s. gs. *koru* > **koru-nākā* > *kornakā*, but *voccu-nākā*.

§ 284. Corresponding to Marāthī past habitual quoted above, we have in s. gs. the future optative : *kariś-nā*, *kariś-nāti* ‘will not do, shall not do.’ Father Stephens gives two series for the future : *sodinā zāśi* or *ni-sodisi*.

The negative mood of necessity is expressed by adding *-naju* to the infinitive : s. gs. *koru-naja*, *māru-naja* etc. Compare x. *nidunā nōzō*.

In opposition of s. gs. *kariś-nā* we have also *karas-nā* in simple futurity, with which we can compare x. *nid-sonā* ‘I shall not sleep.’

The optative form is given by Father Stephens for old gx, as follows : *nasodlyā pūro*; compare this with x. *nulānā zālyār puro*. In s. gs. besides the same form as in x. we have *na* and *pūro* coming together giving a compressed forms *napro* which can be similarly used : *sodlyāri napro* ‘it is not enough to seek.’

§ 285. The interplay between the mere negative particle *na* acting as the negative verb and combining with *āsumāk* for the same purpose as in Marāthī, may best be illustrated by the participial forms ; s. gs. *kār-nāstānā* ‘while not doing,’ x. *nidnāstānā* ‘while not sleeping, without sleeping,’ and old gx. *na-soditānā*.

Nominal Forms of the Verb

§ 286. The most important in this category are the present and past passive participles, to which may be added the Infinitive and Absolutives as not being personal forms of the verbs.

Present Participle

§ 287. The present participle in Konkanī goes back to similar MI-A. forms : Pk. *titthanto* : *titthantā*. The termination is *-tā* (MI-A. °-anta-ka-) : s. gs. *kar-tā* x. *nid-tā* ‘sleeping’ etc. When the participle is being used as an adjective we have the °-alla-ka- extension : x. *nid-tolo*, s. gs. *niddatālo* ‘(one who) is sleeping’ The nasal found in Pāli masc. sing. *tittham*, acc. *titthantam* is preserved in Konkanī present participles used adverbially : *kartā kartā* ‘while doing’, etc. Oddly enough Father Stephens does not give illustrations of this form either under participles or gerundives. The only cognate form which he records (see § 248) is the adverbial *zātanā* ‘while happening,’ *zāte vele* in the same

sense. Corresponding to this we have in x. *nid-tānū*, *nid-tāstānā* or *nid-tā āstānā* 'while sleeping,' and in s. gs. *niddatānā* 'at the time of sleeping.' Both Father Stephens and Father Maffei prefer to call this form a gerund, but in reality it is the extension of the present participle. The *-nū* extension is probably to be connected with the *-lā* or *-lo* extension of Mar.-Kon., see *La langue marathe*. § 262, p. 260. Both the forms discussed above come under the category of absolute forms derived from the present participle.

Past Passive Participle

§ 288. The past passive participle of all dialects of Konkanī is based on a similar formation of MI-A. with ^o-*alla-ka-* extension (the variants of which are ^o-*illa-ka-* and ^o-*ulla-ka-* in MI-A :). New formations are then based on this analogy in the dialects of NI-A. Thus we have first of all s. gs. *gello*, x. nx. gx. *gelo* (**gata-allaka*, *illaka*) s. gs. *mello* (**mr̥ta-allaka*, *illaka*), x. nx. gx. *melo*; then forms like s. gs. *čor-tā* : *čor-lo* where the MI-A. ^o-*alla-ka* extension is regularly added on to the present indicative base. Hence we get forms like s. gs. *śind-tā* : *śind-lē*, x. *zāñ-tā* : *zāñ-lē*. A remarkable form on this analogy is s. gs. *di-i(t)ā* : *di-l(l)e*, x. nx. gx. *di-tā* : *di-lē* corresponding to Sk. (*dádāti*, *dátte*) *dáti* : ppp. (-*dāta-*, *dattá-* and) ^o-*dita-* and MIA. *de-i* *dinna-*.

By the further extension of this *-la* suffix we have the adjectival use of the past passive participle : s. gs. *nidda-lo*, x. *nid-lo* 'he, she, it slept,' s. gs. *nidda-le-to* 'he who had slept,' x. *nid-lo*. In s. gs. we have the regular oblique of the past passive participle adjoined to this *-la-* extension. See *La langue marathe*, p. 256 (§ 256).

By its very nature the past passive participle is both a verb and a noun. Its nominal forms showing gender and its capacity to take postpositions clearly demonstrate its nominal character, while the nominal phrase system in epic and later Sanskrit, in Middle Indo-Aryan and modern I-A. dialects, has already given it a verbal character for past narration. Thus we have s. gs. *kellyē uprānte* 'after it is done' which becomes in rapid speech

kelle uprānle. Similarly we have *kellyār(i)* 'if it is done' with the locative postposition *-āri*.

Future and Obligatory Participles

§ 289. Mention was already made of the Mood of necessity previously (see § 280 above). The genitive postposition *-cō-cī* and *-cē* is added on to the simple present theme: s. gs. *kor-uka*: *kor-čo* (-i,-ē), x. *nid-unh*: *nid-čo* (-i,-ē) 'who is to sleep' etc. old gx. also records forms of this type: *zāu-čo*, *āsū-čo* etc. It shows that originally the postpositional elements were added on to the infinitive forms like *zāu-(-ka)*, *korū-(-ka)* etc. whence s. gs. *kor-cē* < **korucē* < early gx. *korū-cē*.

In the impersonal manner in which women address their husbands, these future and obligatory participles take the place of the present and future indicative and present imperative.

Infinitives and Absolutives

§ 290. The infinitive sign in Konkani is based upon O-IA: *-itum*, MI-A. *iuṁ*, but the proper form as quoted in dictionaries and grammars is the one with the dative postposition *-ka*: x. *korum-ka* (< **kor-uṁ-ka*), s. gs. *mārū-ka* (< **mār-uṁ-ka*, the nasal being lost in the normal course in these dialects, with compensatory lengthening).

A second type quite as common is the future and obligatory participle with the dative postposition: s. gs. *korcyā-ka*, *mārcyā-ka* etc. from *korcē*, *mārcē*. A variant of this is the dative of the genitive of appertinence formed from the simple infinitive form: x. *nid-uṁ-k*: *nid-uṁ-cyā-k* 'for sleeping, in order to sleep, to sleep.'

The future and obligatory participle in the neuter also stands for the infinitive by itself or for the act itself: s. gs. *mārcē* 'to beat' or 'beating'; and shows a parallel development to other I-E. languages of the present day.

Absolutives

§ 291. The absolutive termination in the dialects of Konkani goes back to an *ur-* form **-aunu* giving us in s. gs. (*ă*)*nu*: *voc-čnu*, *kor-nu*; x. *-un*: *nid-un*; gx. *-unu*; *zāunu*, *sodunu*, etc.

This suffix may be compared with old Marāthī *-vaunī, mod. Mar. -ūn. Corresponding to this we have in Sk. -tvāna, -tvīnām, MI-A. -tlāṇām, -tūnām, -ūṇa (< *tuāna) and later Apabhrāṁśa -eppū(nu), -vī(nu).

Phonologically Konkani *-aunu, Mar. *-(v)aunī should go back to a common origin which may be represented by *-(v)auṇnu/i- or *-(v)auṇnu/i; this in turn may be reconstructed from a possible Apabhrāṁśa *-tuaṇṇau or *-tuaṇṇai or *-tuaṇṇu, *-tuaṇṇi representing a contamination between the forms -tvāna and -tvīnam of OI-A. For a discussion of this problem of intervocal -n- in Mar. -ūn < Pk. -dūṇa, -ūṇa see Bloch, *La langue marathe*, p. 261, § 264.

§ 292. A second way of expressing the absolutive sense is to add the suffix -ci to the present participle in the dialects of Konkani :—

x. *nid-tū-č* ‘having slept,’ s. gs. *niddata-ci*, gx. *zātō-ci*.

This suffix -č(i) is representative of Sk. -t-ya: Pk. *-ccia, the normal ending of Sanskrit absolutives of verbs preceded by prepositions.

ADVERBS

§ 293. Like the adverbs of other NI-A. languages, those of the dialects of Konkani are based on (a) nouns, (b) pronouns, (c) older adverbs or (d) adverbial expressions.

(a) Based on nouns: s. *vaggi*, ns. *beggi-*, Kan. (*bēga-*) x. gx. *veg*, etc.

(b) Based on pronouns: s. gs. *kašši*, *tašši* (< Sk. *ka-*, *ta-*), etc.

(c) Based on older adverbs: s. gs. *āji* (Sk. *adya*), etc.

(d) Based on adverbial expressions: under this category may be included the older adverbs with case forms made from nouns or adjectives: s. gs. *phāyi* (Sk. *prabhāte*), *kāli*, (Sk. *kalyam*), etc.

§ 294. Among the chief types of adverbs may be mentioned adverbs of time, adverbs of place, adverbs of manner and a few miscellaneous adverbs.

Below are listed a few of each in the several dialects of Konkani.

Adverbs of Time

s. gs.	old gx. of Father Stephens	mod. gx. nx	x.
āji "today"	āji	āz	āz or āj
ātā "now"	ātā	ātā	ātā
kāli "yesterday"	kāli	kāl	kāl
phāi "tomor- row"	phāi phāūsōi	fālyā	fālyā
pairī "day be- fore yesterday"	pōiri	poir	poir
averī } "two days }	āverī	āvēr	
averā } after tomorrow or before yes- terday"			
porū "last year"	porū	porū	porū
kednā "when"	āzunu	kednā	
ājuni "up to now"	āzunu	āzun	

Adverbs of Place

s. gs.	old gx. of Father Stephens	mod. gx. nx.	x.
hāngā "here"	hāngā	hāngā, hōi	āngā
thāi "there"	thōi	thoi	thāi
khaī "where"	khoi	khōi	khāi
mukhāri "in front"	thāngā "there", mukhāri	thīngā mukār	mukār
ns. vairī "above"	pōisō "far, long", vōiri	pois	pois
mākṣi "behind"			
hekkađe "on this side"		hikđe }	yevśi
tekkađe "on that side"		teuši }	teuši
bhittari "in side"	bhitorī	bhitōr	bitōr
bhāvia "out side"	bhāirō	bhāir	bāir
gs. sakala 'down'	sōkōlō		sākāl

Adverbs of Manner

s. gs.	old gx.	mod. gx. nx.	x.
<i>kassī</i> " how "			<i>koso</i>
<i>assi</i> "in this way"		<i>ośe</i>	<i>osē</i>
<i>taśsi</i> " in that way "		<i>tośe</i>	<i>tosē</i>
<i>vingada</i> " separately "			<i>vngod</i>

Miscellaneous Adverbs

s. gs.	old gx.	mod. gx. nx.	x.
<i>ittyāka</i> " way "		<i>kityāk</i>	<i>kityāk</i>
<i>ānikai</i> " still as yet "			

CONJUNCTIONS

§ 295. The following comparative list illustrates a few of the conjunctions seen in the dialects of Konkanī.

s. gs.	old gx.	mod. gx. nx.	x.
<i>āni</i> " and "	<i>āni</i>	<i>āni</i>	<i>āni</i>
<i>ki</i> " or "	<i>ki</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>ki</i>
<i>āthvā</i> " or "	<i>āthavā</i>	<i>vō</i>	<i>vō, yā</i>
<i>puni</i> " but "	<i>puna</i> }	<i>pun</i>	<i>pun, puni</i>
<i>lekkunu</i> , n. gs. <i>dekuṇu</i>		<i>dekun</i> "because, therefore"	<i>dekun</i>
<i>jari</i> " if "	<i>zōri</i>	<i>zōr</i>	<i>zōr</i>
<i>tari</i> " then "	<i>tōri</i>	<i>tōr</i>	<i>tōr</i>
<i>mhalyāri</i> " that is to say "	<i>mhōṇu</i> <i>mhōṇunu</i> <i>mhōṇcyāka</i>	<i>munṭēc, munun</i> <i>munje</i>	<i>munṭē, munji</i>

§ 296. It will at once be apparent from the tables above that Konkanī is largely dependent upon Old and Middle Indo-Aryan for its vocables, whether adverbs or conjunctions.

Before proceeding to the section of syntax we shall consider below in brief the nominal formation of Konkanī.

Nominal Formation

§ 297. Practically all the suffixes used in the formation of nouns are derivable from Indo-Aryan sources. A few are derived from Persian, Arabic or Dravidian sources, but are chiefly restricted to loan-words or learned borrowings.

The Primary suffixes are added on to verbal bases for the formation of substantives. The other suffixes are secondary in nature added on to (a) substantives for forming substantives, (b) adjectives for forming abstract substantives and (c) substantives for forming adjectives; similarly suffixes are added on to (d) adjectives for forming adjectives, (e) verbs for forming adjectives and (f) adverbs for forming adjectives.

§ 298. Primary Suffixes :

-āṇa or -ṇa : s. gs. x. gx. nx. *khāṇa* (<*khā-uṁk*), *nhāṇ(a)* (<*nhā-uṁk*); s. gs. *marāṇa*. x. nx. gx. *morōṇ* (<*mor-uṁk*), etc. This suffix is connected with Sk. -*ana* Pk. -*ṇa*, giving action nouns.

From the above are derived the extended suffixes -ṇī and -ṇē (<Sk. -*anakam* giving action nouns) : -ṇī : s. gs. *nhāṇī* <*nhā-uṁk*; *modṇī* <*mod-uṁk*; x. nx. gx. *sodṇī* <*sod-uṁk*; *fodṇī* <*fod-uṁk*; *molṇī* <*mol-uṁk*, etc. -ṇē : s. gs. *dīṇē*, x. nx. gx. *dīṇē* <*dī-uṁk*; x; nx; gx. *gheṇē* <*ghe-uṁk* *podṇē* <*pod-uṁk* : s. gs. *rāṇē*, x. gx. nx. *roḍṇē* <*roḍ-uṁk*, etc.

All masc. substantives ending in -u generally show the same suffix as the corresponding Sk. words.

-apa, x. gx. nx. - p < OI-A. -tva, Aś. insc. -tpa, MI-A. -appa: s. gs. *barapa* x. gx. nx. *bōrōp* <*baraumk*; s. gs. *kāṇḍupa* / *kāṇḍuka*; x. *sikop* <*sikumk*, etc.

From this is further derived the suffix -pi- s. gs. *vājpi* <*vājuka* x. gx. nx. *borpi*, s. gs. *barpi* <*baraumk*; s. gs. *rāndpi* <*rāndūka*.

-ti: s. gs. *bharti*, gx. *bioruṁk*; s. gs. *sukti* <*sukkūka*; cf. gx. *sukti*; s. gs. *cadti*, gx. *cōḍti* <*coḍnṁk*; s. gs. *deuti* (v. l. *devṇi*), x. gx. nx. *deuti*.

s. gs. -cē in neut. nouns: *boscē* <*baisūka* 'the act of sitting,' etc. For this suffix see §§ 220ff. above under the adjective of appertinence.

An extension of the -ṇa suffix is *nār* in the Christian dialects. The extension -ār is to be traced to Sk. *kāra-*: gx. *boḍoinār* <*boḍouṁk*; *dinār* <*diuṁk*; *bhuloinār* <*bhlouṁk*; *coṇār* <*coṇumk*, etc.

Abstract substantives are formed by the following suffixes : -*sāni* x. nx. nx. *soṇi* ; *sāṇi* : s. gs. *ghūmsāṇi* < *ghām*, but these are to be considered under the secondary suffixes. A few instances may, however, be cited of its primary use : s. gs. *phugsāṇi* < *phugāka*, *karupsāṇi* < *kar^apatā*, etc.

-*so* : *āmso* < *ām* : *goḍso* < *goda* ; etc.

§ 299. Secondary Suffixes :

A. Substantives yielding substantives :

-*kār(u)* masc., *kārṇi*, x. nx. gx. *kārṇi* or *kāriṇi* fem. and x. gx. nx. -*kāṇi* < Sk. *kārin*, -*kāriṇi* : s. gs. *goīkār* 'Goan,' s. gs. *bhikārṇi* 'beggar woman'; x. gx. nx. *bhāṭkār*, *cepekār*, *ghorkār*, *mitkār*; *setkāriṇi*, etc.

The same suffix appears with the medial -*g-*: x. *mocegār*, *gādiegār*, etc.

The Persian suffix -*dār* also is used in similar circumstances as the holder of a certain post or position : *majedār*, *bhāgiār*, *subedār* etc. in gx. x. nx. and several Brahman dialects.

In mod. gx. the suffix -*ki* is used for abstract nouns : *regidorki*, *sāibiki*, *pilvānki*, etc. cf. Rangel, p. 167.

B. Adjectives yielding substantives :—

-*āi* : x. gx. nx. *mhārgāi* < *mhārog* ; s. gs. *thāndāi*, x. nx. gx. *thōndāi* < *thāṇḍa* ; x. *niskālai* < *niskal*.

Similar in use is the suffix -*kāi* : gx. *durbolkāi* < *durbol* ; *dusmankāi* < *dusman* ; *girestkāi* < *girest* x. *āskūlkāi* < *āskā*.

-*ki* : gx. *khuśulkī* < *khuśāl*, *huśūrkī* < *huśār* etc.

s. gs. -*pana*, x. gx. nx. -*pon* (< Sk. -*tva-na-*) : s. gs. *hollepana* < *hollo*, *dhāk tepana* < *dhākto* ; gx. *āñkvārpon*, *bholēpon*, *mātārpon* ; x. *kot̄tepon* < *kot̄to*, *borepon* < *boro*, *nitālpon* < *nitāl*, *kud̄depon* < *kud̄do*, *mogālpōn* < *mogāl* etc.

s. gs. -*sāṇi*, x. nx. gx. -*sāṇi* : s. gs. *godṣāṇi* < *goda* ; *āṁsāṇi* < *ām* etc. ; x. *koḍsāṇi* < *koḍu* ; gx. *kālsāṇi* < *kāṭo*, *dhousāṇi* < *dhovo*, *nibrosāṇi* < *nibor*, etc.

C. Substantives yielding adjectives :—

-*ālu*, x. gx. nx. -*āl* : *movālu* ; < *movu* ; *dhārālu* < *dhāra*, etc.; x. nx. gx. *mogāl* < *mog*, *māsāl* < *mās*, *rosāl* < *ros*, etc. This is derived from Sk. -*ālu*.

In the Christian dialects we have the suffixes gx. -*est*, x. -*ist* : gx. *dukest* < *duk*, *gūnest* < *gūṇ*, *modest* < *mod*, *pidest* < *piḍ* x. *sermāivist* *sermāū*, *buīmāpist* < *buīmāp*, etc. To these are generally added

the forms *giresṭ* in gx. and *mukhiest* in x. If the suffix has anything at all to do with old I-A. these forms indicate that we have to consider Sk. *-sthā* from the root *sthā*.

-i : s. gs. *nāt̄ki* < *nāt̄aka*; x. gx. nx. *kālji* < *kālij*, *gorvi* < *gorva*, *nirbhāgi* < *nirbhāg*, *boli* < *bol*, *motsāri* < *motsār*, *rongi* < *roṅg*, etc. This *-i* is derived from Sk. *-in*.

The superlative suffix *-iṣṭ* is used in almost all Konkani dialects : s. gs. *balistu*, x. gx. nx. *boliṣṭ rogiṣṭ*, etc.

The Sk. suffix *-vat* is preserved in K. s. gs. *-vantu*, x. gx. nx. *vōnt* : s. gs. *budvantu*, x. gx. nx. *budvont*; *bolvont*, *kāljivont*, *pidevont*, etc.

Several Christian dialects follow the Marāthī pattern in having adjectives in *-it*, corresponding to s. gs. *-i* or *-i*; x. gx. nx. *bormit* < *borm*, *conconit* < *concon*, *cokcokit* < *cokcok*, *luklukit* < *lukluk*, *pocpocit* < *pocpoc*, *tontonit* < *tonton*, *sod-sodit* < *sod-sod*, etc. In opposition to these we have s. gs. *salraṭi* < *salṣal*, *khad-khaḍi* < *khadkhad*, *badbaḍi* < *badbaḍ*, etc. The northern suffix *-it* derives from Sk. *-i-tva->Pk. -itta-*.

Nominal Composition

§ 300. Like all other new Indo-Aryan languages Konkani also allows nominal composition, either inherently or purely within its own history.

Thus in s. gs. *kānsala* 'temple' we have *kān* and *sala* < Sk. *karṇa-salā*.

Verbal Composition

301. Konkani is fairly rich in these verbal compounds, generally composed of the absolute form of the main verb in combination with set types of auxiliaries. A study of these forms in all the new Indic languages appears to me essential if we have to investigate the nuances introduced in the individual languages.

I shall indicate here only a few types which show a definite semantic or syntactic category.

The verb s. gs. *soḍuka* 'to leave' is combined with principal verbs showing completion of action, as Hindi *cuknā* : s. gs. *kornu* *soḍuka* 'to finish doing.' *mārnū soḍuka* 'to finish,' *mhoṇnū soḍuka* 'to finish talking ;' the meaning is also emphatic in character.

The verb s. gs. *ghāluka* 'to place' is similarly used in an emphatic sense : s. gs. *moṇṇu ghālukā* 'to break,' *pindunu ghāluka* 'to tear,' *kāṇṇu ghāluka* 'to take away,' *sopṇu ghālukā* 'to abandon,' etc.

(To be continued)

SIDE LIGHTS ON ASOKA THE GREAT

BY

H. C. SETH

Aśoka ascended the throne in the prime of his life. This is to be inferred from the fact that his grandfather, the illustrious Candragupta, founder of the Mauryan Empire, came to power when very young and died only after twenty-four years of reign. The period of the reign of Aśoka's father, Bindusāra, who must have succeeded Candragupta when young, is given as twenty-eight years in the Buddhist traditions and only twenty-five in the Pauranic traditions. Moreover according to both the Indian and the Ceylonese Buddhist traditions Aśoka was not the eldest son of Bindusāra. He had an elder brother named Sumana according to the Ceylonese Buddhist tradition, and Susima according to the Indian Buddhist traditions. Assuming the ages of these monarchs as about twenty at the time of the birth of their eldest child, it gives us approximately twenty-four years as the age of Bindusāra at the time of his accession to the throne. If we take the period of Bindusāra's reign as twenty-eight, it gives us about thirty-two as the age of his eldest son and about thirty as the age of Aśoka, at the time of the latter's accession to the throne. We infer the same age of Aśoka at the time of his accession from another Ceylonese tradition also. According to *Mahāvāṃsa* Aśoka's eldest son, Mahendra, was twenty years old when he was ordained as Buddhist monk, which happened in the sixth year of Aśoka's coronation. Assuming that Aśoka's age at the time of the birth of his eldest son, Mahendra, was twenty, it gives thirty-four as the age of Aśoka at his coronation. According to *Mahāvāṃsa* he ascended the throne four years before his coronation, his age therefore at his accession to the throne was about thirty.

According to the various Buddhist traditions Aśoka was a Kṣatriya. We have elsewhere shown that the story that Candragupta was the son of a Nanda king of Magadha, born of a Śūdrā

woman Murā, is a pure literary fiction of a much later date. He originally came from the Gāndhāra region.¹ His famous minister Cāṇakya also belonged to the same region. The North-Western India was the starting point of the vast empire which was created by the genius of Candragupta and Cāṇakya. Magadha like other parts of India was subsequently conquered. Candragupta made Pāṭaliputra his capital because it was the centre of the biggest kingdom then in India, and it had already risen to importance as a great imperial centre under the Nandas. The Buddhist tradition of Mauryas being Kṣatriyas is borne out by a Brahmanic inscription at Vaghli in Khandesh District of Bombay Presidency. According to this inscription Mauryas descended from the famous king Māndhātā of the Sūrya Vamśa.

The various Buddhist traditions throw some light on the early life of Aśoka, from which we glean a few facts which may be historically correct. During his father's reign, Aśoka, at the age of eighteen, was appointed Viceroy at Ujjayinī. During this period of Viceroyalty he had a love affair with Devī, a pretty girl, belonging to Setthi caste, of Vidiśā (modern Bhilsa). She accompanied Aśoka to Ujjayinī and there bore to him a son named Mahendra and a daughter Saṅghamitrā. Devī continued to reside at Vidiśā after Aśoka ascended the throne, but the children went with their father to Pāṭaliputra, the imperial capital.

During his father's reign Aśoka successfully suppressed a rebellion at Takṣaśilā. His elder brother was unable to suppress another rebellion later on at the same place. This must have proved the greater capabilities of Aśoka, and likely that out of the many brothers he was selected, like the famous Samudragupta, by his father for the throne. But the Buddhist accounts suggest that Aśoka won his way to the throne after bloodshed. There might have been some opposition on the part of his

¹ We have discussed this question in the following papers, "Did Candragupta Maurya belong to North-Western India?" *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* Vol. XVIII, pp. 156-185. "Śāsigupta and Candragupta." *Indian Historical quarterly* Vol. XIII, Pt. II. "Gandhara Origin of the Maurya Dynasty and the Identification of Candragupta and Śāsigupta." *Ninth All-Indian Oriental Conference*.

brothers on his being raised to the imperial throne, and in the war of succession his eldest brother was killed.

Aśoka succeeded his father in the year 273 B. C.¹ According to the Ceylonese Buddhist traditions there was a difference of four years between his accession and coronation, the latter, therefore, took place in 269 B. C. Aśoka reigned for thirty-seven years. The best record of the events of the period of Aśoka's reign are his own inscriptions, which in certain respects bring out very vividly his personality before our eyes.

During the first eight years of his reign we find Aśoka, like his grandfather, the mighty conqueror and great administrator Candragupta, and may be like his equally powerful father, Bindusāra, busy with the problems of administration of his vast realm, and of further extending its boundaries. He is constructing roads and wells, planting trees, opening hospitals, and helping the aged and the infirm. The most important event in the early part of his reign is his invasion of Kalinga, which he seems to have personally undertaken eight years after his coronation. He does conquer Kalinga, but the massacre and the horrors of this war touch him to the quick, and bring about a very great change in his out-look on life. The creed of conquest by war is replaced by conquest through love and kindness. The supreme object of his life henceforth becomes the welfare of all men. He is extremely solicitous to promote, not only through beneficial administrative measures but also through moral teachings, the lasting happiness of his own subjects and of his neighbours, including even the distant Greek kings.

His whole youthful energy is directed towards this one big end. In one of his Edicts he remarks "I am never content in exerting myself and in dispatching business. For I consider it my duty to promote the welfare of all men. For no duty is more important than promoting the welfare of all men." (Major Rock Editct VI). At all times of the day and night he is open to listen to any complaint lodged by any of his subjects. He instructs his governors to avoid envy, anger, cruelty and laziness, and to exert their utmost in the service of the people. He

¹ For this date see my paper "Buddha Nirvāṇa and some other dates in Ancient Indian Chronology," *Indian Culture*. Jan. 1939.

sends out special officers to tour round the country and sees that no injustice or harshness is being committed. His own tours of pleasure he converts into tours of morality, where the following takes place "visiting Brāhmaṇas and Sramanas and making gifts to them, visiting the aged and supporting them, visiting the people of the country, and questioning and instructing them in morality." He introduces the novel scheme of appointing Ministers for the promotion of Morality (Dharma Mahāmātras). "They occupy themselves with all sects in establishing morality, and for the welfare and happiness of those who are devoted to morality. They help the prisoners and cause their release if they have children or are aged." They help the Emperor and the members of his family in the capital and in the provincial towns to distribute charity to the deserving.

Āśoka's edicts breathe of some of the greatest moral truths. He tells people that fierceness, cruelty, anger, pride and envy are sinful. He says that even one who practises great liberality but does not possess self-control, purity of mind, gratitude and firm devotion is very mean. He constantly reminds people of the necessity of zeal for achieving good things. He preaches moderation in expenditure and moderation in possessions. He lays the greatest emphasis on kindness not only towards all men but even towards all animals.

The great change in Āśoka's life was not so much the result of the teachings of any particular sect, as it was the result of the reaction on him of the Kalinga war. It was the changed mood of mind after this war that really made Āśoka incline towards Buddhism. He, perhaps, found his own new ideology strikingly similar to the teaching of the Buddha, with its emphasis on love, kindness, and service of humanity.

A careful study of his inscriptions indicate that Āśoka for the first time was attracted towards Buddhism after the Kalinga war and with the advancing years his devotion to the Buddha and his teachings grew deeper and deeper, but it was only during the last ten years—and more towards the end—of his reign that he developed into an ardent Buddhist. We briefly give below the reasons for this view of ours.

All his inscriptions which were issued before the 20th year of

his reign clearly show the catholic interest he took in all the religious sects. He desires that all sects may reside everywhere (Major Rock Edict VII). In another Edict he again shows the same concern for all sects, "King Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin is honouring all sects, with gifts and with honours of various kinds. But Devānāmpriya does not value either gifts or honours so highly as this, viz. that a promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place. Other sects ought to be duly honoured in every case. If one is acting thus, he is both promoting his own sect and benefiting other sects. If one is acting otherwise than thus, he is both hurting his own sect and wronging other sects as well. For whosoever praises his own sect or blames other sects, he rather injures his own sect very severely. Therefore concord alone is meritorious. i. e. that they should both hear and obey each other's morals. For this is the desire of Devānāmpriya, that all sects should be full of learning, and should be pure in doctrine and that a promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place. (Major Rock Edict XII.). Donatory inscriptions of Aśoka, belonging to the earlier part of his reign, also reveal the same concern for all sects. If he enlarges the Stūpa of Buddha Konākamana, he is giving caves to Ājivikas. This policy of religious toleration was, perhaps, as much a political dictum handed down from the time of Candragupta and Cāṇakya as it was the attitude of a virile mind enquiring after what was really true in the various religious sects, the same sort of urge which many centuries later we find in case of Akbar.

The inscriptions which fall after the 20th year of his reign show his increasing devotion and concern for Buddhism. In the 21st year of his reign he visited the birth place of Buddha and offered worship there. In the same year he visited Buddha Konākamana and also offered worship there. We may note that there is no mention of offering worship ten years earlier when he visited Sambodhi (Bodh Gayā). On the other hand it is specifically mentioned that on these religious tours he listened to the teachings of Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas alike. In the Pillar Edict VII, which was issued 27 years after his coronation we find him for the first time mentioning Saṅgha (Buddhist) in his regnally dated records; and the way in which Saṅgha is men-

tioned here first along with other religious sects also indicates that it was uppermost in his mind. But there is nothing else to indicate his greater concern for Buddhism than for other religious sects even as late as the 27th year of his reign.

Now amongst the inscriptions of Aśoka, which can be definitely dated in his regnal years, the only one in which we find him in very close and personal touch with the Buddhist Saṅgha is the Schism Edict at Sārnātha, Sāñci, and Kauśāmbī pillars. In these inscriptions we find Aśoka striving hard to preserve the unity of the Saṅgha, and prescribing, almost like its head, punishment for Bhiksus and Bhiksunis, who attempted to break the Saṅgha. The Schism Edict could not have been issued earlier than the 27th year of Aśoka's reign. This is obvious from the fact that it is engraved on the Allahabad-Kosam pillar in a position which shows it to have been put there subsequent to the six Pillar Edicts, which were issued in the 27th year of Aśoka's reign.

In our paper "Chronology of Aśokan Inscriptions,"¹ we have given reasons to believe that like the Schism Edict, the Minor Rock Edicts, were also issued during the last ten years of Aśoka's reign. In these Edicts also we find Aśoka closely preoccupied with the Buddhist Saṅgha. He informs us of his open conversion to Buddhism and of his actually joining the Buddhist order, perhaps, as a monk. The Chinese pilgrim I-tsing mentions an image of Aśoka dressed in the garb of a Buddhist monk. It does not necessarily mean that Aśoka relinquished the throne. Attention may be drawn to a similar action on the part of the Buddhist king Milinda, who put on yellow robes and had his head clean shaven and fulfilled the eight moral conditions, having assumed the state of a 'muni' for a week. One wonders if Milinda was just acting in a manner in which a couple of centuries before Aśoka had done.

In the paper referred to above we have also suggested that it was during the last three years of his reign that Aśoka's official conversion to Buddhism, and his joining the monkish order took

¹ *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XVII, Part 3. See also our paper, "Buddha Nirvāṇa and some other dates in Ancient Indian Chronology." *Indian Culture*. Jan. 1939.

place. This was perhaps, followed by lavish gifts to Buddhist Saṅgha spoken of in the various Indian and Ceylonese Buddhist traditions. Hiuen Tsang also mentions the existence of a pillar in Pātaliputra in his time which recorded the gift of Aśoka to Buddhist Saṅgha of the whole empire thrice and its redemption in return for jewels and treasure. Part of the inscription was reported by the pilgrim as follows "Aśoka-rāja with a firm principle of faith has thrice bestowed Jambudvīpa as a religious offering on Buddha, the Dharma, and the Assembly, and thrice he has redeemed it with his jewels and treasure; and this is the record thereof."¹ Earlier than Hiuen Tsang, Fahian had also reported similarly about the above pillar and inscription.²

Seated as Aśoka was on a throne founded and supported by Brahmanic influence, this official and public announcement of the change of faith, his putting on of the monk's garb, and the lavish gifts from the treasury to the Buddhist Saṅgha, perhaps brought about a political revolution in which Aśoka was deprived of his powers and the ministers put his son or one of his grandsons on the throne. Aśokāvadāna has preserved the tradition that Aśoka died destitute of power. Hiuen Tsang also refers to a story similar to one found in Aśokāvadāna of Aśoka's extravagance and of his being deprived of royal power by his minister towards the close of his life. He reports: "King Aśoka having fallen sick and lingering for a long time, felt that he would not recover, and so desired to offer all his possessions so as to crown his religious merit. The minister who was carrying on the government was unwilling to comply with his wish. Some time after this, as he was eating part of an Āmalaka fruit, he playfully put the half of it for an offering. Holding the fruit in his hand he said with a sigh to his minister; 'Who now is lord of Jambudvīpa?'"

"The minister replied, 'Only your majesty'.

"The king answered, 'Not so; I am no longer lord; for I have only this half fruit to call my own! Alas! the wealth and honour of the world are as difficult to keep as it is to preserve

¹ Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II. p. 91.

² *Ibid.* Vol. I. p. lvii.

the light of a lamp in the wind ! My wide-spread possessions, my name and high renown, *at the close of life* are snatched from me, and I am in the hands of a minister violent and powerful. The empire is no longer mine ; this half fruit alone is left."

" Then he commanded an attendant officer to come and he addressed him thus. " Take this half fruit and offer it in the garden (ārāma) of the cock (monastery) to the priests, and speak thus to the venerable ones, ' He who was formerly lord of Jambudvīpa, but now is master of only this half Āmalaka fruit, bows down before the priests. I pray you (on behalf of the king) receive this very last offering. All that I have is gone and lost, only this half fruit remains as my little possession. Pity the poverty of the offering, and grant that it may increase the seeds of his religious merit ' ¹ .

No doubt Aśoka made Buddhism, which before his time was a local sect confined mostly to eastern India, a world religion. But his religious policy, particularly towards the end of his reign, weakened the political fabric of the empire established by the genius of Candragupta and Cāṇakya. Aśoka diverted the resources of this vast and mighty empire to spread to the world the gospel of Buddha, and it consumed itself like a flame to lighten the world, for after Aśoka the Mauryan Empire crumbled to pieces.

As we look back through the centuries we find Aśoka as one of the most remarkable personalities in the history of the world. In his youth he commenced in right earnest the task left partly unfinished by his father and grandfather of uniting the whole of India under one big empire. If Aśoka had continued his career of conquest which he started with Kalinga, it is likely that, after he had incorporated in his Empire parts of extreme south of India which were yet outside the Mauryan Empire, his attention might have been diverted towards the west. Under the great Candragupta himself the Mauryan Empire towards the west extended far beyond the confines of the present Indian Empire. As shown elsewhere, it included, besides the whole of the modern Afghanistan and Baluchistan, considerable parts of Eastern Persia, as

¹ *Beal's Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II. p. 95-96.

well as Russian and Chinese Turkestan.¹ After his victory over Seleucus, Candragupta emerged as the greatest power of his time. If only his attention was diverted towards the west he could have rehabilitated the great Persian Empire which was tottering then under the death-blow of Alexander. He could have easily reclaimed the distant provinces of Egypt, Macedonia and Greece. But he directed his attention to build up an Indian Empire. With Seleucus, his western neighbour, he concluded a peace treaty and also entered into marriage relations with him, accepting, perhaps, the hand of his daughter. During the brief space of twenty-four years of reign his hands were really full of problems arising out of the conquest and consolidator of the vast empire won by his own efforts. Even if he wanted he could not get time to conquer the more distant western provinces of the Persian Empire. It was for his son and grandson to extend further west the bounds of the Mauryan Empire. We know very little about his son Bindusāra. It is, perhaps, rightly assumed that he must have been a powerful person, as he kept intact the big empire he had inherited, and perhaps added something to it, may be towards the south. Aśoka, as we know him through his inscriptions, certainly had the vigour and enthusiasm, prerequisites of a great conqueror. And if he had only pursued the career of conquest, which he so successfully began with Kalinga, the strength of the Mauryan arms might have been felt westwards as far as Greece, Macedonia and Egypt. But fate had decreed Aśoka not to be a great conqueror, but to be the first great royal messenger of universal love, peace and brotherhood. After the Kalinga war he declared this message to his own people and also to his near and distant neighbour monarchs. He vigorously pursued this new ideal. The Edict he issued after the Kalinga war runs "Even the hundredth part or the thousandth part of all those people who were slain, who died, and who were deported in Kalinga, now will be considered deplorable by Devānampriya. He desires towards all beings abstention from hurting, self-control and impartiality. This conquest by morality is considered

¹ We have discussed this question in detail in our paper "Central Asiatic Provinces of the Mauryan Empire." Indian Historical Quarterly. Vol. XIII, P. III.

the principal one by him. And this conquest has been won repeatedly by Devānāmpriya both among his own people and among all his borderers, even as far as at the distance of six hundred Yojanas, where the Yona king Antiyoka (Antiochus III of Syria) is ruling, and beyond this Antiyoka, where four kings are ruling Turamaya (Ptolemy II of Egypt), Antikini (Antigonus Gonatas of Macedonia), Maka (Magas of Cyrene) and Aliksudara (Alexander of Epirus or Corinth); and towards the south the Chodas and Pandya as far as Tāmraparāṇī...This conquest, which has been won everywhere and repeatedly causes the feeling of satisfaction. And for the following purpose has this rescript on morality been written in order that the sons and great grandsons who may be born to me, should not think that a fresh conquest ought to be made, that if a conquest is necessary, they should take pleasure in mercy and light punishments, and that they should regard the conquest by morality as the only true conquest." (Rock Edict XIII, Shahbazgarhi).

Āsoka, as revealed in his own inscriptions, is the greatest and most striking figure in the history of our world. H. G. Wells correctly observes, "Amidst the tens of thousands of names of monarchs that crowd the columns of history, their majesties and graciousnesses and serenities and royal highnesses and the like, the name of Āsoka shines, and shines almost alone, a star. From the Volga to Japan his name is still honoured. China, Tibet, and even India, though it has left his doctrine, preserve the tradition of his greatness. More living men cherish his memory to-day than have ever heard the names of Constantine or Charlemagne."¹

We have already suggested that Āsoka had an irresistible attraction for Buddhism, because it stood for those very principles, which became so dear to his heart after the Kalinga war. Buddhism of Āsoka was the simple and human teachings of the great Master, free from the preposterous accretions, which grew round it, as they do in case of every good movement, in course of centuries. Asoka's own inscriptions and his life as we see through these, are the best commentaries on what Buddha's teaching really stood for. If kindness, sympathy for those who are suffering, spending of life in the service of humanity, purity

¹ *The Outlines of History.*

and self control form the essence of religious teachings, then Buddha is certainly the greatest religious teacher. Christianity's debt of Buddhism is very great and perhaps direct. It not only borrowed the moral teachings of Buddhism, but also borrowed its monkish order, congregational worship, and confession of sins. The Buddhist Jātaka stories provided the material for the church legends.¹ Buddhist cave temples or Caityas provided the model for the early Christian churches.² There is no wonder that the intense Buddhist missionary propaganda initiated by Asoka in Syria and the surrounding countries, and perhaps, also carried on after him, stirred up there new currents of thought, and in course of time gave birth to a new faith based on the teachings of Buddha, but, as elsewhere, greatly influenced by and mixed up with local beliefs and practices.

In the present world torn with international strife and uncontrolled ambitions for national expansion Buddha's teachings and Asoka's life may have little appeal. But if civilisation is to endure, the teachings of Buddha have a permanent value, and the life of Asoka will ever remain an inspiring monument of the greatest, noblest and most successful effort of civilising mankind.

¹ Fausböll remarks regarding these stories. "These fables and stories introduced through these various channels became very popular during the Middle Ages, and were used as the subjects of numerous sermons, story-books, romances, poems, and edifying dramas. Thus extensively adopted and circulated, they had a considerable influence on the revival of literature, which, hand in hand with the revival of learning, did so much to render possible and to bring about the Great Reformation. The character of the hero of them—the Buddha, in his last or in one or other of his supposed previous births—appealed so strongly to the sympathies, and was so attractive to the minds of mediaeval Christians, that he became, and has ever since remained, an object of Christian worship. And a collection of these and similar stories—wrongly, but very naturally, ascribed to a famous story-teller of the ancient Greeks (Aesop)—has become the common property, the household literature, of all the nations of Europe." Buddhist Birth Stories or Jātaka Tales p. xliv.

² Compare the following remarks, of Fergusson regarding the Karla Cave which belong to the first century B. C. "The building resembles to a very large extent, an early christian church in its arrangements consisting of a nave and side aisles, terminating in an apse or semidome.....As a scale for comparison, it may be mentioned that its arrangements and dimensions are very similar to those of the choir of Norwich Cathedral, or of the Abbaye aux Hommes at Caen," History of Indian and Eastern Architecture. P. 144.

THE BHAGAVADGĪTĀ IN THE PRE-ŚĀMKARĀCARYA
JAIN SOURCES

BY

P. K. GODE, M.A.

In his recent paper¹ on the *Kashmir Recension of the Bhagavadgītā* Dr. S. K. Belvalkar examines the views of Dr. F. Otto Schrader of Kiel to the effect that the text of the *Bhagavadgītā*, to which the *Gitābhāṣya* of Śāmkarācārya gave currency (and consequently the *Gitābhāṣya* itself) was completely unknown in Kashmir upto 1000 A. D. Dr. Belvalkar also examines in detail Schrader's hypothesis about a Kashmir recension of the *Gitā*. In the course of this examination he observes :—"Once Schrader's thesis is accepted as proved, it raises the possibility of other recensions of the Poem being current at different times in different parts of India."²

What different recensions of the *Bhagavadgītā* if any, were current at different times in different parts of India, no one can say with any degree of certainty. In the same manner it would be hazardous to conclude the impossibility of different recensions simply because no evidence in their support of an incontrovertible nature has yet been discovered and recorded. In the present unsettled state of this problem it would be useful to collect all possible data about the text of the *Gitā* as found recorded in the form of quotations in works prior in date to the *Gitābhāṣya* of Śri Śāmkarācārya with a view to see if as a cumulative effect of this data we can assert or deny the possibility of different recensions of the *Gitā* current at different times in different parts of India.

If the importance of pre-Śāmkarācārya quotations from the *Gitā* occurring in Brahmanical or non-Brahmanical texts is recognized to possess some value for historical or textual criticism an attempt will be made by interested scholars to record all such quotations as they are traced during the course of their

¹ *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. I, pp. 211ff.

² *Ibid.* p. 212.

studies. In the present paper I shall record some such quotations from a Jain source.¹

Recently I had an occasion to peruse the works² of Haribhadrasūri. During the course of my perusal I came across some verses which looked like quotations from the *Gītā*. I therefore, tried to read these works rather minutely with a view to trace verses common to these works and the *Gītā*. The verses traced so far may be recorded in this paper to enable scholars to trace any more verses common to the *Gītā* and other works of Haribhadrasūri, not included in the Pothī before me.

According to Muni Jinavijayaji³ Haribhadra flourished in the middle of the 8th century A. D. Prof. Jacobi⁴ accepts this

¹ Siddhasenagāṇī (about 600 A. D.—Vide p. 182 of *History of Indian Logic* by Vidyābhusan) records the following verses in Āryā metre in his comm. on Umāsvāti's *Tattvārthādhigamasūtra* (p. 272 of *T. sūtra*, Part II (1930) ed. by H. R. Kapadia):—

“देशे ततो विविक्ते समे शुचौ जन्मुविरहिते कल्पे ।
ऋग्यायम् स देहं बद्धां पर्यङ्गमचलाङ्गः ॥ २ ॥
वीरासनादि चासन-पथसमापादादि वाचलं स्थानम् ।
यद् वा अधिष्ठाय यतिः, शवर्नं चोत्तानशयनादि ॥ ३ ॥
ज्ञेयमविलं विविदिपन्नधितिष्ठासंग्रहं मोक्षविधिमाविलम् ।
संशाय सृष्टिमात्मनि किंचिद्बुपावर्त्य द्विष्टं स्वाम् ॥ ४ ॥
विषयेभ्य इन्द्रियाणि प्रत्यवहृत्य च मनस्तथा तेभ्यः ।
यारयति मनः स्वात्मनि योगं प्राणिधाय मोक्षाय ॥ ५ ॥

This passage reminds us of the lines of the *Bhagavadgītā* such as—“विविक्त-सेवी लघ्वाशी” (XVIII, 52); “शुचौ देशे प्रतिष्ठाप्य (VI, 11); “मुनिमेक्षपरायणः” (VI, 28); “भ्रवेमध्ये प्राणमवेश्य सम्यक्” (VIII, 10); “यदा संहरते चायं” (II, 58).

² Śrī-Haribhadrasūri-granthā-Saṅgraha, Published by the Śrī Jaina Granthaprakāśaka Sabhā, Ahmedābād, 1939. The works included in this Pothī are:—(1) योगटाटिसमुच्चय, (2) योगविन्दु, (3) धोडशक, (4) शास्त्रवानर्सासमुच्चय, (5) पटदशनिसमुच्चय, (6) द्वार्त्तेशवक्प्रकाण, (7) लोकतत्त्वनिर्णय, (8) धर्मविन्दुप्रकाण, (9) हिंसफलाटक, (10) सर्वज्ञसिद्धिसमूह.—Winternitz (*Indian Literature*, II, p. 480) states that hitherto 88 of Haribhadra's works have been found in MSS and 20 of these have been printed.

³ Date of Haribhadrasūri (Paper read at the First Oriental Conference, November 1919, Poona) published in Sanskrit in the *Jainsāhitya Saṁsodhaka Granthamāla* p. 14—“तृष्णीयसप्तशतीत्याब्द (७००) वर्तिने कुमारिले हरिभद्रः स्मरति, हरिभद्रं पुनः—अष्टसप्तत्यधिकसप्तशतीत्याब्द (७७८) खृष्णाद्वितीं कुबलयमालाकथाकारो दाक्षिण्यचिह्नत्विः । अतो हेतोः एतयोर्द्वयोरन्तराले कालं—अर्यात् खृष्णायाटमशताब्दी मध्यभागे—हरिभद्रो विद्यमानो भवेत् इति निरसंदेहमनुमयिते ।”

⁴ Vide *Intro. to Samārācīca Kāhā* (Bib. Ind. No. 169) a Jaina Prakṛta work ed. by Dr. Hermann Jacobi. Vol. I, Intro. p. ii.

date and the evidence on which it is based and observes that Muni Jinavijayaji "puts his case in the clearest light." Udyotana in his *Kavalayamālā* completed on 21st March, 779 A. D. mentions Haribhadra as his teacher in philosophy and praises him as the author of a great many books. Haribhadra quotes many authors, Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jaina¹ among whom we find Bhartṛhari (the author of the *Vākyapadiya*) about 650 A. D. and Kumārila. Haribhadra also quotes several passages from the Cūrni of the *Nandisūtra* by Jinadāsagāṇi-mahattara (A. D. 677). On the other hand he does not quote Śāmkarācārya or discuss his *māyāvāda*. The birthplace of Haribhadra was Citrakūṭa or the modern Chitor. He was a Brahman by caste. It was chiefly due to him that Sanskrit became the learned language of the Śvetāmbaras and replaced Prakrit in several departments of their literature. He shows perfect mastery in philosophical discussion conducted in Sanskrit side by side with his comprehensive knowledge of Jain Lore due to his conversion to Jainism.²

With the foregoing remarks about the chronological and biographical details about Haribhadrasūri it would be easy to understand the following verses found as part of Haribhadra's works without mention of their source or without any indication to suggest that they are quotations from a Brahmanical work like the *Bhagavadgītā* :—

(1) Verse 76 of the *Sāstravārtāsamuccaya* of Haribhadrasūri (folio 52 of the Pothī Edition of 1939) reads as follows :—

“ नासतो विद्यते भावो नाभावो विद्यते सतः ।
उभयोरपि दृष्टोऽन्तस्त्वनयोस्तस्त्वदर्शिभिः ॥ ७६ ॥ ”

This verse is exactly identical with *Gītā* II, 16. Haribhadra must have taken it from the *Gītā*. In the Jacobi's Concordance³

¹ Muni Jinavijaya mentions 30 authors :— अवधूताचार्यः, आमृतिः, ईश्वरकृष्णः, कुमारिलः, पतञ्जलीर्भाष्यकारः, पतञ्जलीर्योगाचार्यः, पाणिनिर्वेयाकरणः, भगवद्गोपनेत्रः, भर्तृहरिवेयाकरणः, विन्ध्यवासी, शिवथर्मोन्नतः, वौद्धाः, कुक्ताचार्यः, दिवाकरः (?) दिग्नामाचार्य, धर्मपालः, धर्मकीर्तिः, धर्मोन्नतः, भद्रन्तः, भद्रन्तदिन्नः, वसुवस्तुः, शान्तिरक्षितः, शुभग्रहः, जैनाः, अजिनयज्ञाः, उमास्त्वानिः, जिनभद्रक्षमाश्रमणः, देवताचक्रः, भद्रवाहुः, मल्लवादी, समन्तमद्रः, सिद्धसेनदिवाकरः.

² Vide pp. vi-viii of Jacobi's *Intro. (Bib. Ind. No. 169)* 1926. In Farquhar's *Outline of Religious Literature* (1920) pp. 401, 214, 371. Haribhadra is assigned to date 9th Century A. D. Farquhar (1920) could not make use of Jacobi's latest view re. the date of Haribhadra recorded in 1926.

³ *Concordance to Principal Upaniṣads* by Col. G. A. Jacobi, Bombay, 1891, p. 88.

no other source is recorded for this verse except the *Gitā*.¹

(2) Verse 53 (folio 99) of *Lokatattvanirṇaya* of Haribhadra-sūri reads as follows:—

“ उर्ध्वमूलमधःशास्त्रमश्वत्थं प्राहुरव्ययम् ।
छन्दोसि यस्य पत्राणि यस्ते वेत्ति स वेदवित् ॥ ५३ ॥ ”

This verse is identical with *Gitā XV*, 1. Jacobi's Concordance records no other source for this verse except *Gitā XV*, 1.

Variant :—पत्राणि (*H* = Haribhadra) for पर्णानि (*G* = *Gitā*)
वेत्ति (*H*) for वेद (*G*).

(3) Verse 77 (folio 100) of *Lokatattvanirṇaya* reads:—

“ द्वावेव पुरुषो लोके क्षरश्वाक्षर एव च ।
क्षरश्च सर्वभूतानि कूटस्थोऽक्षर उच्यते ॥ ७७ ॥ ”

This verse is identical with *Gitā*, XV, 16.

Variants :—“ द्वावेव ” (*H*) for “ द्वाविमौ ” (*G*)—1st line
and “ च सर्व ” (*H*) for “ सर्वाणि ” (*G*)—2nd line.

(4) Verse 81 of *Lokatattvanirṇaya* (folio 100) reads:—

“ न कर्तृत्वं न कर्माणि लोकस्य सृजते प्रभुः ।
स्वकर्मफलसंयोगः स्वभावाद्विग्रहते ॥ ८१ ॥ ”

This verse is identical with *Gitā*, V, 14.

Variants :—“ सृजते ” (*H*) for “ सृजति ” (*G*)
“ न कर्म फलसंयोगं स्वभावस्तु प्रवर्तते ”—2nd line (*G*)

(5) Verses 83 and 84 of *Lokatattvanirṇaya* (folio 100) read as follows:—

“ नैनं छिन्दन्ति शस्त्राणि नैनं दहति पावकः ।
न चैनं क्लेदयन्त्यापो न शोषयति मारुतः ॥ ८२ ॥ ”

This verse is identical with *Gitā*, II, 23. There are no variants.

“ अच्छेयोऽयमभेद्योऽयं निरुपाख्योऽयसुच्यते ।
नित्यः सर्वगतः स्थाणुरचलोऽयं सनातनः ॥ ८४ ॥ ”

¹ Malayagiri in his *Vṛtti* on the *Āvaśyakasūtra* (folio 409 of *Agam Sami. Series No. 60*, 1932) quoted the first line of *Gitā* II, 16 as follows:—

“ नासनो विद्यते मावो नाभावो विद्यते सतः ॥ इति बचनात् ”

A Ms of the comm. on the *Nandisūtra* by Malayagiri is dated 1235 A. D. (Vide p. 592 fn. 2 Winternitz. *History of Ind. Lit.* Vol. II, 1933).

This verse is identical with *Gītā*, II, 24.

Variants :— “अच्छेयोऽयमदाश्योऽयमकृयोशोऽय एव च ”
(G)—1st line.

(7) Verse 88 of *Lokatattvanirṇaya* (folio 100) reads :—

“उद्धरेद्वीनमात्मानं नात्मानमवसादयेत् ।
आत्मनैवात्मनो बन्धुरात्मैव रिपुरात्मनः ॥ ८८ ॥ ”

This verse is identical with *Gītā* VI, 5.

Variants — “उद्धरेद्वीनमात्मानम् (H) for “उद्धरेदात्मनात्मानम् ”

(G) First line.

“आत्मनैवात्मनो बन्धुः ” (H) for “आत्मैवह्यात्मनो बन्धुः ”

(G) 2nd line.

(8) Verse 52 of *Lokatattvanirṇaya* (folio 99) reads :—

“सर्वतः पाणिपादान्तं सर्वतोऽक्षिशिरोमुखम् ।
सर्वतः श्रुतिमान् लोके सर्वमाश्रित्य तिष्ठति ॥ ५२ ॥ ”

This verse is identical with *Gītā*, XIII, 13.

Variants — ““पाणिपादान्त”¹ (H) for “पाणिपादं तत् ”

(G)—First line.

“श्रुतिमान् लोके ” (H) for “श्रुतिमल्लाके ” (G) 2nd line

“सर्वमाश्रित्य ” (H) for “सर्वमाश्रृत्य ” (G) 2nd line.

The verses of the *Gītā* identified by me in Haribhadra's works during my cursory perusal of some of these works number *eight* for the present and they were traced in only two works as follows :—

(1) *Śāstravārtasamuccaya*—*Gītā* II, 16.

(2) *Lokatattvanirṇaya*—*Gītā*, II, 23, 24; V, 5, 14; XIII, 13; XV, 1, 16.

In addition to the *eight* verses from the *Gītā* traced in Haribhadra's works I found certain verses and portions of verses echoing some lines from the *Gītā*, e. g. verse 21 of *Śāstravārtasamuccaya* (Folio 74) reads as follows :—

“जन्ममृत्युजराव्याधिरोगशोकायुपद्रतः ।

क्लेशाय केवलं पुंसामहो भीमो भवोदधिः ॥ २१ ॥ ”

Compare *Gītā* XIII, 8 :—

¹ This reading is also the reading adopted in the Kashmir recension of the *Gītā* and also by Vallabhācārya.

“ जन्मभृत्युजरात्याधिदुःखदोषानुदर्शनम् ॥ ८ ॥ ”

In the *Yogadrśṭisamuccaya* (folio 6) we find the line “ बुद्धिर्ज्ञानमसंमोहस्त्रिविधो बोध इध्यते ” which may be compared with *Gītā*, X, 4—

“ बुद्धिर्ज्ञानमसंमोहः क्षमा सत्यं दमः शमः । ”

A study of the Brahmanical sources¹ of Haribhadra's works would prove profitable if no such study has been already made by Jain scholars. In view of the early Brahmanical training and proficiency in the *Śāstras* attained by Haribhadra it is but natural that he should absorb in his writings some of the Brahmanical material with a stamp of his new faith. The *Gītā* appears to have been very popular with later Jain writers as well, though it is difficult to guarantee the accuracy² of these quotations in all cases.

¹ Cf. शास्त्रवार्तासमुच्चय (folio 56) :—

“ कालः पचति भूतानि कालः संहरति प्रजाः ।
कालः सुप्तेषु जागर्ति कालोहि दुरानिकमः ॥ ”

This may be compared with *Maitri Upaniṣad* VI, 15 which reads :—

“ कालः पचति भूतानि सर्वाण्येव महात्मनि ।
यस्मिन्स्तु पच्यते कालो यस्तं वेद स वेदवित् ॥ १५ ॥ ”

(Vide p. 417 of *Upaniṣads*, Anandashram, Poona, 1891)

Mr. S. N. Tadpatrikar has drawn my attention to the following verse in the Critical Edition of the *Mahabharata* (B. O. R. I.) Ādiparvan I, 1, 190—

“ कालः पचति भूतानि कालः संहरति प्रजाः । ”

The 2nd line of Haribhadra's text is indicated to be found only in the Northern Recension of the MBH (Vide p. 29 of *Ādiparvan*).

² Cf. the following quotation from the *Gītā* as such appearing in the *Bharatēśvara-bāhubali-vṛtti* (Devachand Lalbai P. Fund Series No. 77, 1932, folio 3 of Part I) :—

“ गीतायां—

पृथिव्यामप्यहं पर्य ! वायावग्नौ जलेऽप्यहम् ।
वनस्पतिगतश्चाहं सर्वभूतगतोऽप्यहम् ॥ १ ॥
यो मां सर्वगतं ज्ञात्वा न हिंसेत कदाचन ।
तस्याहं न प्रणश्यामि स च मां न प्रणश्याते ॥ २ ॥ ”

Compare the 2nd verse in the above quotation with *Gītā*, VI, 30 :—

“ यो मां पश्यति सर्वत्र सर्वे च मायि पश्यति ।
तस्याहं न प्रणश्यामि स च मे न प्रणश्यति ॥ ”

I am unable to trace the 1st verse of the above quotation in the vulgate text of the *Gītā* even in the verses of Chap. X (19 to 42) dealing with *Vibhūti-yoga*. Śubhāśila composed the *Bharatēśvaravṛtti* in A. D. 1453 (Samvat 1509). Unlike Haribhadra of the 8th century A. D., he mentions the *Gītā*

(continued on next page)

From the data recorded above we may arrive at the following conclusions for further verification :—

(1) Haribhadrasūri (C. 750 A. D.) had before him some text of the *Gītā* which was different from the vulgate text.

(2) The absorption of the verses pointed out above by Haribhadrasūri in his own works without acknowledgement was perhaps due to his early Brahmanical training in the Śāstras.

(3) It is also possible to suppose that the variants in the verses absorbed by Haribhadra from the *Gītā* are due not as a result of a different version of the text then current but may be due to his own making.

(4) It should be a matter for investigation whether any other pre-Śaṅkara Jain writers have drawn upon the *Gītā* incidentally or otherwise in the works composed by them.

(5) An exhaustive study of pre-Śaṅkara quotations in Brahmanical, Jain, or Buddhist if any, would clarify the present theory that Śaṅkarācārya established the vulgate text of the *Gītā*.

P. S.—Since this paper was sent to the press I have discovered the following verses in a Jain work called the *Padmapurāṇa* written in the year 678 A. D. by Ravisena (see *Ind. Literature* Vol. II by Winternitz : p. 494) :—

Ms. No. 301 of 1883-84 (B. O. R. Institute, Govt. MSS. Library), folio 104—

“ विद्याविनयसंपन्ने ब्राह्मणे गावि हस्तिने ।
शुनि चैव श्वपके च पंडितः समदर्शीनः ॥ ३ ॥
चातुर्बण्यं तथान्यच्च चंडालादिविशेषं ।
सर्वमाचारभेदेन प्रसिद्धि भुवने गतम् ॥ ४ ॥ ”

Verse 3 in the above extract is exactly identical with *Gītā* V. 18, while verse 4 is an echo of *Gītā*, IV. 13 which reads as follows :—

“ चातुर्बण्यं मया सृष्टं गुणकर्मविभागज्ञः ।
तस्य कर्तरमापि मां विद्ध्यकर्तारमव्ययं ॥ १३ ॥ ”

If the above extract from Ravisena's text of A. D. 678 is genuine it shows how Jain authors have indirectly absorbed the text of the *Gītā* from the version available to them.

and quotes verses from it one of which cannot be traced in the present vulgate text of the *Gītā* while the other shows marked variants in the first line. Can we suppose that Subhāsila had before him a text of the *Gītā* differing from the vulgate one or is he merely quoting from memory and in so doing warping the original verse in one case and composing another in the style of the *Gītā*.

THE EMERGENCE OF NATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS AMONG THREE INDO-EUROPEAN PEOPLES

BY

D. D. KOSAMBI

The French historian Fustel de Coulanges pointed out striking parallels between the ancient institutions of three prominent Indo-European peoples: Greeks, Romans, and the Indic Aryans. The literary quality of his book, *La Cité Antique*, did not, however, obscure the fact that more questions were raised than settled by his explanation. His thesis, that the three civilizations were founded in prehistoric times upon the cult of the dead, did not make clear why they should have diverged so widely even in antiquity. Of course, a great deal of his data would now have to be revised in view of the fact that the three groups seem to have derived much from an earlier cycle of civilization represented in Mesopotamia by the earliest cuneiform records and in India by the Indus valley finds. Whether the groups mentioned above derive their similarities from a common racial origin or from contact with the same older culture, the differences will have to be explained.

Mommesen has shown¹ that, even in early times, the Roman lost his individuality to become part of a remarkably systematic and comprehensive social organization. His personal name was represented by an initial and he was known, to others than the members of his family, by the name of his *gens*; in contrast, the Greek lost his family name to become, and to function as, an individual with greatest of personal liberty. With the growth of individualism in Hellas there came the characteristic development of art, philosophy, science, and literature; but the Greek state was much weaker than the Roman. All this, according to Mommesen, is due to national character. As a matter of taste, we should now regard the national character as a symptom and not as the primary cause of these achievements. To explain the

¹ Theodor Mommsen *Römische Geschichte* (1903) vol. I, pp. 23-25.

divergence, it will be necessary to see what early differences existed in the means of production open to these two offshoots of the same race (if such they were). We must try to analyse *the stages that gave direction to later developments*. Of course, the earlier similitudes might also be explicable in this way, but that would involve re-examination of Engels's famous work on the origin of the family¹ in the light of modern research. The necessary dissection and rearrangement of available data is beyond the scope of this brief inquiry, which restricts itself mainly to the stage of emergence.

We know that the Greeks had a considerable but not overwhelming conquered population in the land occupied after the Aryan (Danaan or *dānava*) invasion. Their production had necessarily to be based upon slave labour. The land in Greece is fertile only in small valleys separated by barren hills, so that a powerful incentive was given to its fragmentation into small agricultural communities. In the absence of any external influence, petty warfare among themselves would have absorbed all Grecian energies. But many of them took to the sea, progressed inevitably from piracy to trade, and began manufacture for export. We thus have the beginnings of that Athenian glory which has cast an attractive light over the rest of Greece, but which is due less to the "inner genius" of the people than to the *unfolding* of a new and superior form of production: industrial capitalism. The Solonian constitution,² from which the great period of Athens starts, is a document that attests my contention. Freeing citizens from debt-slavery, inflation of the currency by legalized debasement, a moratorium on debts, all point to the real nature of this new democracy. The brilliant literary and artistic developments are, along with the "national character," the flowers that adorn this new growth. With the hardening of this form of production, the growth of imperialism and inner strife among the constituent classes, i. e. the ripening of dialectical contradictions, the culture also deteriorated; though with a time-lag which must be greater, the more primitive the society and its production.

¹ F. Engels: *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State* trans. E. Untermann, Chicago 1902.

² George Grote: *History of Greece*, Part II, chap. XI.

By contrast, the inland and mountain Greeks show comparatively little, if anything, in the way of culture. To drive the point home, we can show that one state at least gave up industrial development and thereby lost its cultural start: Sparta. As is now known, the Spartans had the earliest Greek (as distinct from Pelasgian or Mycenean) architecture, represented by the temple of Gittyadas. They appreciated the poetry of Tyrtaeus. Their institution of kingship dated to Homeric antiquity. But the Iliad as we have it today is in an Athenian recension, or at least, not a Doric poem. Throughout the historic period, the Spartans are nothing except doughty fighters, the "artists and craftsmen of war"; always feared, sometimes admired, but never imitated by their contemporaries. The root stage of this form can be discerned with a fair amount of certainty as the first Messenian war. The Spartans had to fight for their very existence and at the end of this period Sparta emerges as the armed camp that it remained for the duration of its historical importance. Thereafter, the Spartans lived the life of soldiers at war, conducting in effect a ceaseless warfare upon their own land-slaves, the helots who were the foundation of Spartan agrarian economy. The citizens lived a life so bare of all luxury as to have become a byword; with physical weakness were abolished such mental weaknesses as art, literature, philosophy, science. They are supposed to have abolished the institution of money too, but some form of land-capital certainly survived. The simplicity and bareness of a Spartan's life must not be confused—as ancient historians did—with the absence of wealth, that is to say, the absence of uneven control over the current means of production. At the end of Spartan history, king Agis found that there remained only nine hundred Spartans wealthy enough to be called citizens, i. e. to pay their mess dues for the common table. The Spartan form of exploitation was surely less productive if more in accordance with primitive types. No new cultural developments were to be expected from it. As a final aside, I might add that even in war they were ultimately beaten by people who allowed their citizens to develop more imagination, though the Spartans were numerically superior. The tactics of Iphikrates and both the tactics as well as the strategy of Epaminondas

showed that the much admired Spartan rigidity of character was not the best training for military leadership.

Like the Greeks, the Latins acknowledged a community of origin; but the land in Latium is fertile in much larger units than in Greece, and there was no conquered population there so far as can be discerned. The sole trading community that could be formed had necessarily to control the only available harbour, the Tiber mouth from Ostia to Rome. But what taught the Romans to absorb the Latins or to make allies of them, in contrast to the extraordinary separatism of Greek cities? What is the basic fact, unknown to Mommsen or not significant enough to his mind, that gave this turn to Roman development? His theory of "racial traits" can hardly be applied because the Etruscans, whom he despises so much, had, according to legend¹ and archaeology,² more influence upon early Rome than any other people. The unemphasized significant fact is that the Romans were lake-dwellers at one period of their migration. Excavations in north-Italian lake-beds show this as well as the fact that after taking to dry land, the proto-Latin villages continued to be built on piles³ for some time. In the north, lake-dwelling must have been necessary for protection against overwhelmingly strong hostile tribes. The most important priest in Rome was not known as the fire-tender (*flamen*) but as bridge-builder (*pontifex*).⁴ This is explained rather lamely by the older historians, Mommsen⁵ among them, by saying that the construction of a bridge across the Tiber was vital to trade and its destruction in the event of an attack (legend of Horatius) necessary for defence. That is true; but for lake-dwellers who have no other means of communication with the mainland except a few boats, the bridge is far more important than to any community on land, whether near a river or not.

¹ The legends of Tarquin and Mastarna. *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. VII, chap. XII, section iii. See also pp. 382-3 of the same volume for other Etruscan influence.

² Eugénie Strong: *Art in Ancient Rome*, London 1929, vol. I, pp. 12, 16-20.

³ Ibid. pp. 3-5; *Camb. Anc. History*, vol. VII, pp. 333-7. V. G. Childe, *The Aryans*, p. 71.

⁴ The popular tradition is given by Plutarch in his *Numa Pompilius*. Cf. the Modern Library translation of the *Lives*, p. 81.

⁵ Mommsen, *loc. cit.* p. 169. Of the *pontifices* in general, "Es waren die römischen Ingenieure, die dass Geheimnis der Masse und Zahlen verstanden";

The pontifex would be the person who had charge of the bridge-building and repair. This meant not only a certain amount of technical knowledge, but also control of the ritual that inevitably accompanies any primitive enterprise. The older traditional priesthood could get along on ritual alone, but the bridge had to be sound and, in fact, all the lake-dwellings and the *terramare* houses were knit together by the same method of construction that was applied to the bridge itself. This extreme compression of the whole community must have led to the sort of discipline seen in a factory or on shipboard, but deeper in that the citizen had to pass his entire life from birth to death in such surroundings. There was no closing time as for a factory, no end to a ship's voyage that might be anticipated by the crew. The community that did not cooperate very closely in all matters could not survive. Even a trifling carelessness in such matters as fire would have been fatal beyond recovery. The stiffness of Roman character, its emphasis upon legality and discipline, must have its roots in the lake-dwelling period.

With the change to an agrarian life, the character would have eventually changed in spite of the fact that there were not many slaves to be exploited, and that the little villages imitated lake-dwellings as much as possible. But one community found the earlier methods necessary for its own survival. The Romans needed the bridge and had to cooperate against frequent attacks from the north. The common origin of the Latins made it possible to increase the original city-state, itself a union of diverse settlements upon the seven hills, by the adoption of strangers into citizenship; not only as individuals but by the *gens* (*Attius Clausus* and the *Claudii*).¹ Man continued to function as the member of a social unit, not as an individual. Where the other Latin cities remained small agricultural communities, Rome alone grew. One very important result of this form of expansion was that at an early stage there was no serious internal strife between the aristocracy and trade-capital as in Greece. Throughout the early period of Rome, the two were more or less identical and the principle of adoption could always be extended to the creation of new senatorial families when non-patricians became rich enough. Because of the absence of mines and harbours, the chief exports were grain, slaves, and wool. As man-

¹ *Camb. Anc. History* VII, pp. 373, 416, 420, 470. On pp. 420-425, we are led to the conclusion that the class-difference between patricians and plebeians was not racial in origin.

power was essential, the proletarii received more consideration than in Greece. When capital finally takes over in Rome, it is naturally as finance capital, on a much larger scale of accumulation¹ than seen before in the Mediterranean world.

In India, we shall have to explain the caste system as the chief variant from the other two Indo-European developments. At the very outset we encounter the difficulty that Hindu traditions are characterized by a total lack of any historical or critical sense. In spite of the considerable mass of Indian literature, it was impossible to make any trustworthy statement even about kings like Aśoka and Samudragupta who had ruled most of the country. What accurate knowledge we have of these dates from the period when Western Scholars collected and deciphered their inscriptions. So we shall have to resort to conjecture more often than for the Mediterranean culture. On the other hand, I shall try to explain this particular national trait—the lack of any feeling for history—also on a materialistic basis.

It is tempting to believe, even if proof be impossible today, that the Vedic Aryans destroyed the Mohenjo-Daro civilization. In any case, it is fairly clear that a people culturally superior to the Aryan pre-existed in India and that a considerable number survived the conquest. The majority must naturally have sunk to serfdom or helotage, but the culturally advanced priests of the conquered² were able to impose themselves upon the con-

¹ For the change of national character with the rise of the Roman financier, G. Ferrero: *Grandezza e decadenza di Roma* vol. I, chap. VII (Milano 1927) pp. 210–11. Cf. also p. 59 et seq. Mommsen, *loc. cit.* pp. 845–6 says, “Den Geldsuchenden vorzuschiessen fing schon im ganzen Umfange des Reiches an sozusagen Monopol der Römer zu werden.....Eng damit verwandt war das unermessliche Gebiet der Enterprise...” For the large accumulations, ibid. p. 849: “Was man in dem damaligen [i. e. in the time of the younger Scipio Africanus] Rom unter Reichtum verstand, kann man ungefähr danach abnehmen dass Lucius Paullus bei einem Vermögen von 100,000 Talern (60 T.) nicht für einen reichen Senator galt, und dass eine Mitgift wie jede der Töchter des älteren Scipio Africanus sie erhielt von 90,000 Talern (50 T.) als angemessene Aussteuer eines vornehmen Mädchens angesehen ward, während der reichste Griechen dieses Jahrhunderts nicht mehr als eine halbe Million Taler (300 T.) im Vermögen hatte”.

For the mechanism of exploitation (in the time of Cicero) see Camb. Ano. History IX, pp. 470–472.

² The *Atharva Veda* is a document of the Āṅgirasa clan, the *Manu-Smṛti* of the Bhārgava. For the relations between the Āṅgirasa and the *Aīla* or Aryan traditions, cf. F. E. Pargiter: *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, London, 1922; particularly pp. 319–20.

querors in spite of racial differences. The Aryan priests must have been absorbed because of the more imposing ritual of the pre-Aryans. Something of this sort can be seen in Mesopotamia after the Sumerians had been conquered. The mechanism in the Indian case has only begun to be clarified after the recent discovery by Sukthankar¹ of the method by which the present *Mahābhārata* text was inflated. It appears probable from his work that the ritual and traditions of the conquerors passed into the hands of the Āngirasa clan² and were later taken over by an associated Brahman clan, the *Bhārgava*. The caste system had a racial origin, as is clear from the theoretical ban on inter-marriages and from the name *Varna* (colour, complexion) for caste. The actual rule was in the hands of the fighters, the conquerors, who became the *kṣatriya* or warrior caste; the Brahmins,

¹ Dr. V. S. Sukthankar: *Epic Studies VI, Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Poona, 1936, vol. XVIII, pp. 1-76.

² Dr. Sukthankar has called my attention to the fact that a rudimentary caste system and the Āngirasa clan are both known among the Avestan Iranians. The main thesis of my work, that the Indian caste system was founded on the actual organization of the means of production, is not affected by this. On the other hand, a very interesting question is raised as to the origin of the system itself. That it did not prevail among the Aryans in general can be seen from V. Gordon Childe's important study *The Aryans* (London 1926). I have not enough data for a discussion of the original home of caste or of the Āngirasa people. But it is to be noted that the Āngirasa clan disappears early in India, to be replaced by the still extant *Bhārgava*. If, as seems likely, the slaughter of the Brahman king *Vṛtra* involved the Āngirasa in India, the demonization of *Indra* and the *daēvas* in Iranian mythology might be an expression of the enmity felt by the Āngirasa surviving outside. The possibility has also to be admitted that the Āngirasa element written into Sanskrit Aryan records might be due entirely to later *Bhārgava* redactors, who could have used it as the common property of all Brahmins.

For the rest, while admitting the value of Childe's discussion, it must be pointed out that his objection (*loc. cit.* p. 32) to Pargiter's theory of an early Aryan occupation of the upper Gangetic basin is made less serious by the discovery that the Himalayas continued to rise even in historic times, and that passes like the Zogi-la were comparatively easy in the stone age. There is also the possibility that the migration from central Asia or the Punjab indicated by accepted analyses of concentration of the blood-group gene *B* might be associated with the Aryans themselves. Personally, I think it probable that this is pre-Aryan; it is known that the conquered and especially the non-fighting elements among them tend in general to breed much more rapidly than the fighting conquerors.

though the highest caste in theory, served them as priests and scribes ; the *vaiśyas* were traders ; lowest of all came the majority, the *sūdra* or worker caste.

The importance of the fact cannot be overestimated that a clan of the beaten people had full control of the tradition and of the ritual of their conquerors. They used this monopoly for writing in, without troubling themselves about consistency, whatever suited them, either to appease the conquerors or to keep up their own pride. For example, we find in the *Mahābhārata* that the comparatively insignificant Bhārgava hero Paraśurāma *exterminates* the *ksatriyas* no less than twenty-one times¹ in revenge for the destruction of his own people. It is fairly clear that the revenge in this case was taken by the composer of the legend, not by the impotent hero ; as such, it naturally betrays the psychological characteristic of overcompensation. A single extermination of the *ksatriyas* would have sufficed to prevent the Brahmans having to serve them. The foundation of the national trait mentioned, i. e. the lack of a critical attitude, particularly towards historical events, was laid with the foundations of the caste system by the *ksatriya* conquest. For the rest, the usefulness of an uncritical revision of old legends continued till well on into the historical period, one striking instance being the recasting of the *purāṇas* ; the absorption of conquering tribes of invaders followed the same model, as for example in the case of the scythian Rajputs.

But the function which helped to preserve the caste system is more important than that of rewriting legends. The system itself can hardly ever have been applied in its full rigour and simplicity over any considerable extent of territory at any time. Its origin is clearly local ; its spread due to the fact that it represented the actual balance of social and economic forces with accuracy. The most important function of the system was to prevent the worker, the *sūdra*, from learning the use of weapons and from learning to read and to write. He had no share in the culture of his age and country. He could not resort to armed revolt. There remained no way for him to keep his traditions alive, if indeed he had had any in the pre-Aryan days ; no

¹ Sukthankar, *loc. cit.*, in particular pp. 41-2.

means of expressing his agony or communicating extensively with his fellow sufferers: no escape except through religion. Even a change of rulers did not bring about a change of caste. The Brahman relieved the warrior caste of the need of constantly policing the state to prevent an armed uprising. The benefits of an extensive helotage were obtained without Spartan efforts. Whether the state was an oligarchy, a republic, or a monarchy (all three existing in the sixth century B.C. in India) the worker had nothing to expect from it. On the other hand, his submission had also the effect that the extreme forms of slavery which we see in Rome and Greece, human beings bartered like cattle, were not needed as a basis of production in India. The rare Indian slave is usually a servant in bondage to some person or household, but not an article of trade. *The caste system corresponds to our modern censorship and the present Indian Arms Act together.* But it must not be forgotten that in its initial stages, the caste system represented a reorganization of society that was more vigorous and more productive than the pre-existing form. It enabled new regions in the forests and mountains to be opened up and settled, whereas the older culture, no matter how highly developed, was essentially a static type that could survive only along the fertile banks of a river which flows through the desert, so that agriculture and protection from wild beasts and invasions could be obtained from the geographical circumstance, not from the social organization. The Indus valley people had no fighting weapons to speak of; war was not their trade.

The Indian peasant had nothing to lose from any new conquest, and continued to plough on calmly¹ while armies fought for sovereignty over him in sight of his little patch of soil. This led to that peculiar type of indifference and stagnation which struck Marx in his studies on India: "We must not forget the barbarian egotism which, concentrating on some miserable patch of land, had quietly witnessed the ruin of empires."²"

¹ As nearly as I can recall, this indifference has actually been reported by some observers, perhaps in pseudo-Megasthenes. I am unable to trace the reference at present.

² Karl Marx on India. Letter of June 10, 1853 published in the *New York Daily Tribune*, June 25, 1853. Cf. p. 21 of the Socialist Book Club edition of
(continued on next page)

Although what follows does not concern the *emergence* of a national trait, I should like to show that the caste system was well grounded. Otherwise it would not have survived the Buddhist epoch nor the Mohammedan invasions. The Buddhists caused the Brahmans a great loss of prestige by their practical doctrine of non-killing (*ahimsā*) which was better balanced than the older but exaggerated Jaina *ahimsā*. Constant petty warfare was beneficial to the Brahmans as they enjoyed the fees for the innumerable sacrifices performed by petty rulers for victory over the enemy. *Ahimsā* did not contradict the desire of the trader for safe routes; that was ensured by the growing size of the individual kingdoms which began to tend towards "universal monarchy," a movement helped by Buddhism¹ as is clear from the success of Aśoka. The peasantry benefitted because the ravages of war had usually been aggravated by the unpaid confiscation of stock for the sacrifices (*yajña*). But even when these gains were consolidated by the growth of larger states, Brahmanism survived because the Buddhists did not provide a new ritual; the old priest-caste still had control of ceremonies such as marriage; and as the Buddhists could not propitiate any deity, the Brahmans had an enormous survival value. The Buddhist doctrine did not change the means of production, did not free the workers. After absorbing enough of the new doctrine to keep abreast of the times, and after unifying innumerable local deities as various manifestations of comparatively few chief gods, a tendency which shows the theological parallel to the growth of large states, the Brahmans regained their old position while Buddhism vanished. The latter religion had become uneconomic by reason of huge monasteries and their extensive holdings in land. It could survive in outlying places like Tibet where monasteries took over the administration or where there had been no Brahmanism; but in competition with the secular Brahmanic forms current in India, it was wasteful, less productive, obsolete.

Marx and Engels on India. For the future results of British rule in India, Marx's letter of that title, written July 22, 1853 published *N. Y. Daily Tribune*, August 18, 1853.

¹ These aspects of Buddhism have been discussed by my father, Prof. Dharmananda Kosambi. Details will be found in his Marathi writings such as *Buddha, Dharma, आंि Sangha; Hindi Sanskriti आंि Ahimsā*.

Islam had a greater initial success, being a strong, intolerant, iconoclastic religion, with full religious democracy for all its members. But no conqueror who is a stranger to the conquered can permanently impose his dogmas upon the country without freeing the oppressed classes, or without a Spartan extreme of violence. The one step that would have uprooted Hinduism from the land would have been the gift of the land to the men who cultivated it, assuming of course that there was enough land to go around. But the Moslems had no such economy in their own country and could not have imagined its introduction into any other, particularly as their initial aim was the exaction of heavy tribute. In spite of their desire to convert, the cleverer invaders realized that it paid not to give way to fanaticism. The temples and idols naturally accumulated a store of wealth that could be cleaned out periodically¹, but which was lost with the destruction of the temple and by extreme religious intolerance.

As Marx predicted,² the latest conquest of India, being founded upon an entirely different economic structure, is changing the country altogether. That the new forms of production have not yet taken hold as deeply as they ultimately must can be made clear by a brief analysis of contemporary Indian national economy. But I give the following parallel quotations to show that the character of Indian science has yet to be completely changed, and that the charge of an uncritical approach persists through the centuries.

¹ *Alberuni's India* (trans. Ed. Sachau) London 1888. Vol. I, p. 116 for the first Moslem invader Mohammed ibn Alqasim sparing an idol for profit. The tradition continues till recent times, and is told among others of Haider Ali in the Deccan.

² Vide Foot-note 2 on page 203.

Alberūni (A. D. 1030)

"...You mostly find that even the so-called scientific theorems of the Hindus are in a state of utter confusion, devoid of any logical order, and in the last instance always mixed up with the silly notions of the crowd...I can only compare their mathematical and astronomical literature, as far as I know it, to a mixture of pearl shells and sour dates, or of pearls and dung, or of costly crystals and common pebbles. Both kinds of things are equal in their eyes since they cannot raise themselves to the methods of a strictly scientific deduction."

Alberuni's India (trans. Ed. Sachau) London 1883, vol. I, p. 25.

J. D. Bernal (A. D. 1938)

" Indian science is noted at the same time for the originality of many of its conceptions and experimental processes, and for extreme unreliability and lack of critical faculty in carrying out the work itself....Probably the best workers in Indian science today are not the scientists but the political agitators who are struggling towards this end [freedom for India] ".

The Social Functions of Science
p. 208.

MISCELLANEA

THE DATE OF THE MAHISAŚATAKAVYĀKHYĀ

BY

K. MADHAVA KRISHNA SARMA

In an article entitled "Vāñcheśvara Alias Kuṭṭi Kavi And His Contact with the Patvardhan Sardars of the Southern Maratha Country" in Vol. XX, Part I of the Annals of the B. O. R. I., Mr. Gode has given us a good deal of information regarding Kuṭṭi Kavi—the commentator on the Mahisaśataka. Among the 11 works of this author (p. 17), the relative chronology of 4 is fixed by him with certainty. As regards the rest (including the Mahisaśatakavyākhya) Mr. Gode gives only their probable dates, that assigned by him to the work under reference being about A. D. 1816. As the article roused my interest in the subject, I examined the MSS. of some of these works, deposited in the Adyar Library. I found that in the MS. bearing the shelf-number 20. I. 1, the Mahisaśatakavyākhya ends with the following chronogram which places its date beyond doubt.

बाणान्यद्रीन्दुविमिते शाककाले सुधीमुदे ।
भूयाद्वाञ्छेवरकृता व्याख्या श्लोकार्थचन्द्रिका ॥

On further investigation I found that this chronogram is contained also in Nos. 3948 and 3949 of the Tanjore Library (vide a Descriptive Catalogue of the Tanjore Library, Vol. VII. pp. 2959–60) with this more at the beginning :

काश्यां रचिता माहिषशतकव्याख्या सुधीमुदे भूयात् ।

The date given here is Śaka 1735, i. e., A. D. 1813. With reference to the place of composition, the Adyar Library MS. also has at the end the following :

तरुणनामकवर्षे । जयनामसंवत्सरे । कटकमासे श्रावणशुद्ध अष्टम्यां
काश्यां रचितां माहिषथकव्याख्या सुधीभुदे भूयात् ॥

As regards the relative chronology of the other works, I am not in a position to say anything just at present.

In this connection it may be noted that in the MS. of the Adyar Library under reference, the commentary on the Mahisaśataka is called Ślokārthacandrikā and not Ślesārthacandrikā. Written on Śritāla leaves and in Grantha Script, the MS. is an old one.

The text of the Mahisaśataka is so far known to consist of 102 verses; but a new problem is presented by the Adyar Library

MS. bearing the shelf-number 27. F. 4. According to this MS. which is also old, it consists of only 94 verses. After saying that verse 95 (कर्मचिन्न ददासि etc.) is an interpolation, this MS. gives an index which shows difference also in the order of the verses. The text has been published along with the commentary, in Telugu script, by Ramakrishnamacharya. The index under reference is as follows:—

(The beginnings of the verses are given here as they are found in the MS.).

१ स्वस्त्यस्तु प्रथमम्	३३ नित्यं धीरमनासि ॥	६५ वर्णानां वय ॥
२ ये जाता विमले ॥	३४ बूषे त्वं विविध ॥	६६ मालिन्यास्पद ॥
३ धान्यं वाथ धना ॥	३५ मुद्राधारण ॥	६७ शङ्कारं रुचिरं ॥
४ तानाश्रित्य चिरं	३६ धत्से शङ्कयुग ॥	६८ जिष्णुस्त्वं हि कृ ॥
५ योद्यं रक्षति ॥	३७ ग्राहोऽसि श्र ॥	६९ क्षेत्राण्यञ्चासि ॥
६ दुर्भिक्षं कृषि ॥	३८ त्वं श्रुत्युद्धरण ॥	७० माता विन्नमैः ॥
७ नानादिकप्रभु ॥	३९ वज्रादप्यति नि ॥	७१ पीत्वा वारिपियो ॥
८ आर्थश्रीधरमप्पु ॥	४० उत्साहेन पुरा ॥	७२ त्वामादौ गणयन्ति ॥
९ अक्षेमेति ॥	४१ क्षेवज्ञस्य इ ॥	७३ अष्टस्वध्रुमवल्लभादि
१० शम्बाकारूपिष्ठा ॥	४२ कौपीनाङ्गत ॥	७४ उद्धामाद्विरद ॥
११ स्तोतुं त्वां महिषा ॥	४३ निर्द्धनोषि ल ॥	७५ माहात्म्यं तव ॥
१२ त्वं बद्धोऽसि च ॥	४४ मञ्जूषाच्चितरौ ॥	७६ ये ये भूत्य ॥
१३ न बूषे परुषम् ॥	४५ कृष्णस्ते सह ॥	७७ देहं स्वप ॥
१४ त्वं क्रीतोऽसि मया ॥	४६ सम्प्राप्तः सह ॥	७८ क्षुद्राधाय ॥
१५ प्रज्ञा पण्याविशे ॥	४७ निर्जयं श्रुति ॥	७९ कृत्वा क्लेश ॥
१६ धात्र्युत्सङ्गतले ॥	४८ रवक्ष्यमंकर ॥	८० तृण्यादानजल ॥
१७ पैशुन्यं न हि ॥	४९ दद्वे प्रीतियुतः ॥	८१ तिष्ठन्तु क्षितिपा ॥
१८ सानन्दं महिषीशतम् ॥	५० त्वं शार्किं सह ॥	८२ तस्मै शङ्कयु ॥
१९ क्षान्तं क्षान्तम् ॥	५१ त्वं सद्यस्तन पी ॥	८३ मूर्ता किं तमसः ॥
२० सूर्ति हन्त विभर्षि ॥	५२ आशां पुष्याशि ॥	८४ कामं सञ्चरमा ॥
२१ भीष्मत्वं हि दद्वा ॥	५३ गम्भीरास्तमितो ॥	८५ न स्वप्नेऽपि दरिः
२२ कर्णं निरुदासि ॥	५४ तर्कं भञ्जयितुम् ॥	८६ कर्वं कर्षमहत्वि ॥
२३ वेगादर्जनमेव ॥	५५ लोके ख्यातः ॥	८७ निष्प्रत्युहविवर्द्ध ॥
२४ लोके त्वं हि स ॥	५६ उल्लेखान्विवि ॥	८८ दुर्वाणीवददुद्य ॥
२५ ज्यामाकर्षसि सङ्गं ॥	५७ प्रत्यायासि मृगं ॥	८९ मूढामाद्धधनो ॥
२६ सुश्रीबोऽसि महा ॥	५८ शङ्काग्रेण मुहुः ॥	९० गोष्ठन्ते नृप ॥
२७ त्वं वाली रमसे ॥	५९ ताम्रशमश्रुमुखो ॥	९१ आजानुद्वय ॥
२८ उच्चेरावण सो ॥	६० त्वं वाचं यमतां ॥	९२ मूढाः केचित् ॥
२९ निन्यं दुर्ज्वरदा ॥	६१ वर्णैनैकवि ॥	९३ यो यो गान ॥
३० गोत्रोदद ॥	६२ कन्दर्पं नतु ॥	९४ भूपो भूपो ॥
३१ सीतार्थं प्रति ॥	६३ शीतं वारिसरो ॥	
३२ प्रस्थप्रस्तवणा ॥	६४ स्वीयोत्सङ्गं ॥	

REVIEWS

BHĀRATIYĀ VIDYĀ-- We heartily welcome the birth of a new journal devoted to the cause of Indology in all its branches. The Secretaries, Bhāratiya Vidyā Bhavana, (Andheri, Bombay), founded mainly through the energetic efforts of the Scholar-politician, Mr. Kanhayalal Munshi, former Home-member of the Government of Bombay, have recently issued the first number (vol. I, part I) of Bhārati Vidyā which is intended to be a half-yearly journal, (p. 104).

The learned scholar of Vedic and Iranian studies, Prof. Manilal Patel, Ph.D. (Marburg) has been entrusted with the shaping of the destiny of this journal. The first issue, on which the motto of the Journal '*Amṛtam tu Vidyā*' appears, bears testimony to the high ideal of scholarship placed before them by the organisers of the Bhavana. In it appear several of the extension lectures delivered by scholars of high repute such as Mr. K. M. Munshi, Dr. Moti Chandra, Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala, Raobahadur G. S. Sardesai etc.

Dr. Chandra's article on ' Indian Costume from the earliest times to the first century B. C.' has been superbly illustrated by actual photographs of original statues, or figures in various sculptural remains of the ancient times as well as drawings specially undertaken to illustrate the point in question. He has taken a detailed review of the available evidence from the excavations in the Indus Valley, the Vedic and Buddhist Literature, the sculptures of Bharhut, Sanchi, Karla etc. and the paintings at Ajantā. He has referred to the fact (pp. 31, 50) that the female figures are often represented as nude above waist except for a few ornaments, but he has not said whether this represented the actual state of affairs or whether he agrees with Shrimant Balasaheb Pantapratinidhi, the Artist-Rajah of Aundha, who believes that there was on these statues a thin coating of plaster and colour which has been worn out in the course of centuries and that the Indian mind would never tolerate the idea of representing the female figures nude or almost nude. (Annals of the B. O. R. Institute, vol. III, pp. 18-19).

In the article on the 'Achaemenians,' readers will find a very interesting information about their Aryan brothers in Persia, particularly of Kurush or Darius, Achaemenian kings. They will in particular, note the reflections of the writer on the marriages between near relatives, brothers and sisters, among the Achaemenians, which, according to the writer, when once the rot had set in, increased the evil manifold and led to the accumulation of vices. This cause, coupled with the jealousies of the queens in the palaces, luxurious living of the later kings, deterioration in religion by the supplanting of the worship of the Ahura-Mazda with the Mithra-Anahita cult degenerating into the obscene orgies of the Nauroz—which as the writer aptly points out in a note correspond to the Holi festival of the Hindus—led to the collapse of the House of the Achaemenian Kings before the vigorous Alexander.

The two articles by Mr. K. M. Munshi on the 'Fundamentals of Aryan Culture' and on 'The Early Aryans in Gujarātā' (only a summary of which is published here) deserve a perusal, though as Mr. Munshi himself admits (p. 85) in his latter article that he would not be sorry if his bold inferences, on further examination, proved to be mistaken. Dr. Patel in his 'Interpretation of the Rgveda' gives us a résumé of the scholarly work done in Western Countries on the Rgveda and tells us the importance of the tradition behind the interpretations of Yāska and Sāyana, which no fair-minded scholar can afford to neglect. Raobahadur G. S. Sardessai, while telling us about the achievements of the Marathas under Shivaji and the first three or four Peshwas, fails not to tell us about their failures in giving, as rewards, Jahagirs to be inherited by competent or incompetent successors, their lack of method and organisation and their quarrelsomeness, especially among their subordinate Chiefs, who often refused to forget individual quarrels even when a great and common good was at stake.

It will be seen from above that the Journal augurs very well and we wish its Editor as well as the Publishers every success in their undertaking. We may make a suggestion in passing that the readers will highly appreciate, if the editor will devote a few pages in which he may give the titles of important articles on Indology occurring in standard journals on that subject.

P. V. Bapat

OBITUARY—Prof. Dr. M. T. Patwardhan, M.A., D.Litt.

"The young man had no business to die so early" was the remark which, it is reported, escaped the lips of the late Justice Mahadev Govind Ranade on hearing of the death of the great Vishnushastri Chiplonkar; the same remark, with all the keen and poignant anguish behind it, rose vibrantly to one's lips as another of our epoch-making poets and scholars, the late Prof. Dr. M. T. Patwardhan, M.A., D.Litt., passed away on the night of the 29th of Nov. 1939, at the early age of forty-five. Poet and scholar, indeed a strange combination! usually the two spheres move apart and the heavy and laborious toils of a scholar's life are likely to clog the pinions that sweep the spirit heavenwards. Dr. Patwardhan, however, has achieved distinction in both the spheres. His studies in metrics, Persian prosody, in lexicography and rhetoric are the products of sweated labour; they reek of the midnight oil, and show his profound scholarship, his critical acumen and his unremitting zeal to get at the truth of a subject; but his delightful flights in verse, now a love-lyric, now a passionate patriotic song, sly and delicate satire, a reverie, humorous sketches of the idiosyncrasies of character place him among the front ranks of Marathi poets.

Dr. Patwardhan was among the first few life-members of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute and ever evinced a keen interest in the progress of its affairs. He was enrolled as a life-member on 4th August 1919 and was on the Regulating Council and Executive Board during the year 1923-24. He occasionally wrote for the Annals of the Institute, and his article on Persian prosody was the first of his numerous studies in the field of metrics which later on led to his *Magnum Opus*—his Chandro-racana—for which he was recently awarded the much-coveted D.Litt. degree of the Bombay University.

Both as a scholar and poet, Dr. Patwardhan has made very original contributions. His Persian-Marathi lexicon, which single-handed he prepared from Marathi records, Sanads, Bakhtars and historical writings, is a monumental work indispensable to students of Indian History. His great work on

metrics, Chandoracanā, which is a very scientific, methodological and original book on the subject, and takes account of the development of the science of metre from Pingala down to Kedārabhaṭṭa and other writers; it classifies all the latest metres of Marathi poetry and in many places these are illustrated by very original delightful compositions of the author's own making.

As a poet, he is hailed as an epoch-maker. His was a spirit of revolt. This revolt manifested itself not merely in the novelty of the themes that he handled, or in the frankness and boldness with which he sang aloud of his sensuous delight in human forms and emotions, but also in the exotic metrical forms and quaint language in which he cast his thoughts. During the last few years of his life, he became an ardent advocate of purism and set himself with almost crusading zeal to the task of creating a new Marathi which was enriched from Sanskrit, Prakrit and old Marathi, but was to be free of all admixture of Persian, Arabic and other foreign languages.

He was a restless soul and always had many projects before him. He worked with unremitting zeal and the only rest he knew—the only recreation was in change of work. A life, so ideal, was cut away at the early age of forty-five. The whole Maharashtra laments his death, and to the world of oriental scholarship the loss is irreparable. May his soul rest in peace.

C. R. Devadhar

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[PARTS III-IV

THE KINSHIP USAGES AND THE FAMILY ORGANI- SATION IN RGVEDA AND ATHARVAVEDA.*

BY

IRAWATI KARVE

The kinship terminology as described in the previous parts of this paper¹ gives us an idea of the Vedic family and the marriage institution. The two Vedas present us with a social process and not a static picture of well established customs. It is a creative period in world history. A pastoral people from the north came into India and met there a people who had learned the art of agriculture and settled life. Side by side with culture contact there must necessarily have taken place a thorough mixing of the bearers of these two cultures. The bearers of the pastoral culture came in successive waves, pushing the earlier

* Prof. S. C. Sarkār, (Patna College) Patna, has discussed the question of the Vedio usages in his very stimulating and well documented book "Some aspects of the earliest social history of India." I find that the conclusions reached by him are in many cases similar to those which I am putting forward in this paper. In my investigations however I am covering the same ground from a different angle. I wished to study the social organisation of different provinces in India and found that the "Vedic component" is well established in many provinces with certain changes. In order to trace the history of the social usages, it is necessary to go to the source and get as clear a picture of that age as possible. In my paper I am concerned primarily with the interplay of social privileges and obligations of different members of the family towards each other and how these are reflected in the kinship terminology used.

¹ Cf. Annals, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. XX, pp. 69-96 and 109-144.

settlers in front of them. It was not one single wave which swept over India. We have to think of something like the "Völkerwanderung" of the centuries immediately before and after the beginning of the Christian era, sweeping over Europe to destroy the Roman Empire. In fact the "Wanderlust" of the northern pastoralists seems to have begun about 2000 B. C. and affected the ancient civilizations of Babylonia, Persia, Crete, Egypt and India. It was thus a cultural invasion which went on for centuries, had time to mix with and absorb the elements of the civilization existing in India and gave rise to a new culture complex. The two Vedas give primarily the picture of the social organisation of the new comers—the pastoralists ; but we get a glimpse of a social organisation in the process of modification, transformation and reorientation due to culture contact. Change in environment may bring about a change in social institutions, but contact with other cultures and other people is a far more potent agent of social change than mere migration. The mixture of races and the mingling of diverse culture-elements resulted in a peak-period in the history of India. The beginnings of this period are witnessed in the record of Vedic literature.

A detailed study of the kinship terminology of the two Vedas shows that though both the books reveal a common pattern, there is a greater differentiation in terminology and a more modern ethical orientation towards sex-relations in the Atharvaveda.

The Vedic Kinship usages

In both the Vedas the smallest social unit is the family, which is made up of the father or the grand-father, his wives, sons and grandsons with their wives and unmarried daughters and granddaughters. There are a number of references to a larger circle of relations and neighbours with certain privileges and rights, but these larger units never usurp the functions of the family. When a family became too big, it split into different households which still recognised the bloodbond and formed a small settlement of people related by the ties of blood.

The Vedic family was governed by the eldest male, who ruled supreme over all the members of his household. The father ruled over his sons and grandsons and had *access sexually* to his daughters and daughters-in-law and sisters. Whether this control

extended over the mother also cannot be inferred from the Vedic texts. Indra is said to have killed his father,—subsequent tradition says he married his mother¹—and another god is called his mother's lover.² Persian tradition has it, that a widow has to take the permission of her son if she wants to remarry, and the Purāṇas tell the story of Vajra, a son of Śrī Kṛṣṇa inheriting some of the wives of his father.³

This custom, even if present at an earlier date, was getting out of practice in the Rgvedic time. The mother-son taboo was firmly established at a very early date, though one finds certain references of the incestuous relations between the son and mother in Purāṇic tales.⁴

The next taboos to be established were those between the father-in-law and the daughter-in-law, and the father and the daughter. A Vasiṣṭha sage prays for own children and in the course of the prayer asks the god to forgive him if he secures the wish of his heart in a foolish way.⁵ What this fool's way could have been, can be guessed from the story in the Purāṇas which tells that the king Mitrasaha killed the only son of Vasiṣṭha by name Śakti. Śakti's wife gave birth to a son years after this incident. Apparently Vasiṣṭha perpetuated his race by having intercourse with his own daughter-in-law and in consequence prayed to the gods to forgive his sin. The Vedic hymn is eloquent on the difference between an adopted son, however virtuous he might have been and an own son. This conjecture is supported by practices mentioned elsewhere among other Indo-European people. Thus Schrader mentions that in Russia it was a practice upto a very recent date for a father-in-law to exercise his right over the daughter-in-law.

There is however no direct evidence in Rgveda or Atharva-veda about this right being exercised by the father-in-law. There

¹ Vedic Mythology, A. A. Macdonell p. 57, Rv. 4. 18. 12.

² Rv. 6. 55. 5.

³ Mbh. XVI. 7.

⁴ Some Aspects of the earliest social history of India, by S. C. Sarkar, pp. 139, 141.

⁵ The Annals of the B. O. R. I. Vol. XX 89.

is direct mention of the custom by which, upto modern days, the daughters-in-law avoided the presence of the father-in-law. In a hymn in Atharvaveda demons are said to flee (and hide) away before sunlight like daughters-in-law from the presence of the father-in-law.¹

The Vedic references as regards the father-daughter relation are not rare and show beyond any doubt that an incestuous union of this kind was well recognised under certain circumstances. Mention is made of Prajāpati and his daughter.² There is also a reference to the birth of Agni, who is said to be a child born of a union between father and daughter.³ If the daughter was an only child the father had a right to get a son from her before she could hope to marry and settle into her own home. The later tradition has it, that a man having an only daughter had the right to her first son after her marriage with a suitable man. It would seem as if this custom was a modification of a custom by which a girl had first to fulfil her duties to the father's family. The *putrikā-putra* (daughter's son) in ancient times must have been the son born of the union of the daughter with her father.

This custom also explains why a brotherless girl was abhorred by Vedic people. The brotherless girl was bound to provide a son to her father and was therefore never a virgin. The brotherless girl came to be a symbol of an immoral woman. The Persian tradition is exactly similar to the Vedic tradition. There is definite mention of a father marrying his own daughter.⁴ Different kinds of marriages are recognised. The best among them is that when a wife is a pādashāh (ruling, privileged) wife when a man marries, with the parents' consent, an unbetrothed maiden out of a family, and she and her children remain his in both worlds. "A Yūkan or ayūk (only child) wife is an only child married with the parents' consent and her first child belongs to them; after its birth she becomes a pādashāh wife. She is entitled to one third of her parents' property for giving up the

¹ Av. 8.6.24, Cf. Annals of the B. O. R. I. Vol. XX, p. 138.

² Rv. 10. 91. 7. cf. Annals of the B. O. R. I. Vol. XX, p. 94.

³ Rv. 3. 31. 1. cf. Annals of the B. O. R. I. Vol. XX. pp. 93-94.

⁴ Sacred Books of the East. F. Max. Müller Vol. XVIII p. 397,

child."¹ The pādashāh marriage is the normal form of marriage and corresponds to the marriage as described in the Rgveda and Atharvaveda, where the bride is blessed in the words "be the ruling queen" (samrājīl, the Sanskrit equivalent of pādashāh). The other form is not mentioned because the father-daughter relation was not a real marriage and after a daughter had fulfilled the duty to her father she could be married in the usual way. The Persian record of the marriage of the next of kin also suggests that the yūkān marriage was a later modification of an old custom by which a father had the right to generate a son from his own daughter. The yūkān system of marriage is the same as the putrikā-putra system in India. Especially interesting is the fact that a woman went through the pādashāh form of marriage after having fulfilled duty in a yūkān form of marriage. The father has access to all the women in the family but gradually this right was restricted in the case of the daughter-in-law and the daughter so that ordinarily he had no access to them. Only when all the other means of perpetuating the line had failed, could the father exercise this right and adopt his daughter's son (putrikā-putra) as his own son. Still later the custom was so modified that he had the right to the son of his daughter and her husband. This process of gradually establishing a taboo between father and daughter goes on almost before our eyes in the Vedic literature.

This practice would explain very well the indeterminate connotation for the relationship terms for "son", existing in Rgveda. The terms for *son* and *grandson* are the same, the terms for *grandfather* and *father* also appear to be the same in the Rgveda, (cf. pp. 84, 70, *Annals B. O. R. I.* Vol. XX) one ascendent generation and one descendant generation being recognised without further differentiation.

The sexual relation between father and daughter was disallowed at a very early stage and the taboo was firmly established in the time of the compilation of the Atharvaveda.

The successive establishment of the mother-son, father-in-law and daughter-in-law, and father-daughter taboos restricted the sex relations of the consanguinous Vedic family in such a way, that sex relations were allowed only among family-members be-

¹ Ibid. Vol. V pp. 142-143 foot-note.

longing to the same generation. From a system of kinship terms which did not distinguish between relatives of different generations, we arrive at a system which differentiated between different generations, i. e. a typical classificatory system as will become clear later.

In Rgveda and Atharvaveda there are many terms for father, the most common being *pitā*. This term and the term *mātā* for mother seem to have been used in a classificatory sense, i. e. they denoted a number of relatives besides the own father and mother. There is ample evidence of such use of the terms at a later date, though in the Vedas no direct evidence is available. The superlative forms of the two terms *pitrītama* and *mātrītama*, as also the device of qualifying the terms by the adjectives *janitā* and *janitri* meaning birth-giver, seem to point out to devices by which the own father and mother are distinguished from other fathers and mothers. The custom of the incestuous union of the father and daughter introduced a factor by which a clear distinction between different generations becomes impossible, in as much as a child of such a union would be grand-child and own child at the same time. Remote relatives of the ascendent generations are mentioned by the device of qualifying the terms *pitā* and *mātā* by such adjectives as *pratna*, *mahā* or *mahi*, all meaning old or ancient. No real kinship term for the second ascendent generation is available. These terms are first coined in the Atharvaveda. The terms are established as pointed out above due to a differentiation in different generations, established by the first group of taboos. Another factor which contributed to this distinction is the growth of the cult of ancestors. Every ancestor received oblations and it is not a matter of indifference whether the offerings are given to one's own father or grandfather or to ascendants of still remote generations. So, in Atharvaveda, though there is a little uncertainty in some passages, about the meaning of the words like *pitāmaha* or *prapitāmaha* which are applied of all ancestors, there are other passages in which the father, the grandfather and the great-grandfather each receives a separate name; i. e. a separate Kinship term is coined for each.

The Vedic family is the patriarchal family and the male relations receive much more attention than do the female relations. The dead female relations did not receive the offerings of the food

as did the dead male relations and so the terms for ascendent female relations parallel to grand-father and great-grand-father are not found at all.

The terms for descendant generations are for the same reasons not differentiated to such a degree as the terms for the ascendent males. The taboos between different generations made it easy to distinguish between sons and grandsons, and we have in Atharvaveda the terms *putra* and *pautra* or *napāt*. Originally *napāt* was the term used for all descendant male relations. At one place in Rgveda the term *pranapāt* is found, but its meaning is not quite clear. In Atharvaveda the term *napāt* comes into disuse as an ordinary kinship term or is used for grandson, the most common term for son being *putra*. The term for great-grand-child does not occur, possibly because neither the sex taboos, nor the cult of the ancestor-worship necessitated such a distinction for the descendant generations.

A common term is employed to denote father and mother. The dual form of the nom. case of the word *pītā* is *pītarā* and of *mātā* is *mātarā* and these are used to denote the parents. The word *pītā* in plural denotes all departed ancestors. Later on only the dual of *pītr* is used for parents.

The word for brother is *bhrātā* and that for sister is *svasā*. These words are in use in one form or other upto the present day in all Indo-European dialects of India. There is however another word for brothers and sisters. The word is used reciprocally for brother and sister and occurs in that connotation in Rgveda only. The brother and sister are called each other's *jāmi*. In later Rgvedic passages the word is used for the sister only, in Atharvaveda the word does not occur in independent passages. In the later literature the word denotes female relations in general, while its derivative the word *jāmātr*, meaning daughter's or sister's husband, is used in all modern dialects. The Rgvedic use of the term *jāmi* is significant. It is not so much a Kinship term as a term showing the relationship between two relatives, namely, brother and sister.

The word *jāmi* is derived by Walde and Pokorny in their "Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indo-germ. Sprachen from the root *jam*, to marry. *Jāmi* thus would be equivalent to "mate"

and the word would suggest that the brother-sister relationship in Rgveda is that of marriage mates. There is ample evidence to show that brothers and sisters married each other in the Rgvedic period and that the practice was given up very gradually, though it still persisted among certain royal families according to the Puranic tradition. In Rgveda the *dyāvā-prthivī* are called *jāmi* Geschwister and are represented as a married pair. The twin gods Aśvinau, the children of Savitṛ and Uṣas (themselves brother and sister) married their sister Sūryā Sāvitṛi. The marriage hymn, which is a late contribution to the Rgveda compilation, has Soma as the husband of Sūryā, but there are many references in the older portions of the book which show, that according to older tradition, Sūryā was wedded to the twin gods Aśvinau who were her brothers. This practice was not confined to gods only, but was apparently a practice of common mortals also. There is a hymn in Rgveda which purports to drive away and destroy the demon who causes abortion. The demon is supposed to have intercourse with a woman, enter her womb and destroy the fruit. In order to have easy access to a woman, the demon is supposed to take the shape of those, who generally approach her and these are enumerated as the brother, the husband, and the lover :

यस्ते भ्राता पतिभूत्वा जारो भूत्वा निपद्यते

प्रजां यस्ते जिधांसति तमितो नाशयामसि । R.V. 10.162.5.

(He who sleeps with you, taking the form of your brother, husband and lover and kills your progeny ; him I drive from here.)

The same verse appears with significant changes in Atharvaveda. The first line runs as follows—

यस्त्वा स्वप्ने निपद्यते भ्राता भूत्वा पितेषु च । Av. 8.6.9

(He also sleeps with you (in thy) dream as the brother or father —him I destroy etc.)

According to this version, the intercourse is supposed to have taken place in a dream, while the Rgvedic version leaves no doubt about the normality of the act. In Atharvavedic times the sex relations of brother and sister are forbidden and an old incantation is given a new form.¹

Brother-sister marriages seem to have been the rule in the family of the god Savitṛ i. e. the Sun god. Not only did he him-

¹ This verse gives, I think, the earliest record of the connection between repression and dream.

self marry his sister Uṣas but his children also married among themselves. (Cf. previous page). In this connection, the story of his twin children Yama and Yami is very interesting in its Vedic and Avestan versions. The 10th hymn in the 10th book of Rgveda tells the story that gods wanted to people the earth and so created the twins Yama and Yami to unite and multiply. This design of the gods was frustrated by Yama, who refused to marry his twin sister Yami. The reason given by Yama is that such an act would be extremely immoral. The interesting hymn ends with a firm refusal on the part of Yama to unite with his sister. A literary critic commenting on this hymn says, that the hymn is evidently a fragment of a longer hymn and that Yama must have at last yielded to the pleadings of Yami. Tradition leaves us in no doubt as to the probable end of this dispute. According to the Vedic conception, a man perpetuates himself through his progeny ; as long as the progeny is living the man lives. Yama however died childless, he was the first mortal to die and became the king of the dead and Yami accompanied him to this nether world. The gods had to create another mortal to people the earth and they chose another son of Vivasvān or the Sun. This son was Manu who generated the mortals with the help of Śraddhā, whose relationship with Manu is very obscure. Prof. Sarkar has shown that Śraddhā is a sister of Manu.¹ Human beings are therefore called Mānavas. If Yama had indeed married Yami they would have been called Yāmyas instead.² Either Yama married Yami and died childless or he did not marry her. This hymn shows the beginning of the taboo against brother-sister marriage.

The Yama myth in its Iranian version is still more interesting.³ Brother-sister marriage persisted in Persia for a longer period and was considered as the orthodox type of marriage and so Yama is depicted as doing something sinful in not marrying his sister. Yima Vivanghat (Vedic "Yama Vaivasvata") was a mythical king who, instead of marrying his sister Yami, married

¹ Sarkar, loc. cit. p. 118.

² In the Island of Bali, which had been influenced greatly by India, there exists a custom by which twins of different sexes are married to each other.

³ Sacred Books of the East. Vol. XVIII Pehlavi Texts Vol. II.

² [Annals, B. O. R. L.]

another woman—the sister of a demon, and gave his sister Yami to that demon in exchange. The future of the human race was thus jeopardised but Yami managed to secure a son from Yama, while he was in a drunken fit and saved human kind.

There is thus no doubt that sisters and brothers were Jāmis or marriage-mates in the Vedic times. The terms brother and sister were very probably used in a classificatory sense and denoted cousins and other young boys and girls of the same generation in the clan. This is made clear below while discussing other kinship terms.

In the marriage hymns in Rgveda and Atharvaveda at one particular point in the ceremony a Gandharva is addressed as follows. "O Viśvāasu, go away from hence because she has a husband now. Go to unmarried girls living with their fathers, that is your natural portion."¹ Who this Gandharva is, cannot be determined from the text. Apparently it is somebody who had a right to the bride before she was married. Possibly he was her brother. In modern times just after the girl is married and while she and her husband offer puffed rice to the fire, the bride's brother is called. He tweaks the bridegroom's ear. The bridegroom thereon gives a present to his wife's brother and then the ear is released. May not this be an ancient custom, when the bridegroom had to buy off the right of the brother over his bride?

With the establishment of this taboo the endogamous patriarchal clan became strictly exogamous. As the terms brother and sister are applied to all clan members of the same generation with a taboo on the marriage of the actual brother and sister, there is also established a taboo against clan-endogamy.

The word *jāra* (जार) is used in an interesting way in Rgveda. The other words for suitor, like *vara*, *marya*, *vadhūyu* etc. all lead to the idea of *pati*, the husband and are also used in the marriage ritual or in magical hymns, where a suitor is sought for a girl. The word *jāra* however has no such connotation. It simply means a lover who has access to unmarried girls. The word occurs always in connection with the word meaning young unmarried girls. It is not known to Atharvaveda i. e. it does not appear in any independent passage in that Veda and reappears

¹ Av. 14.2.33. Annals of the B. O. R. I. Vol. XX p. 96.

later on as a term of abuse meaning the lover of a married woman. In Yajurveda a woman is asked at a certain step in a sacrifice, "Who is thy lover?" (कस्ते जारः) and when she names her lover, she is supposed to have been absolved from the sin of adultery. Manu, while enumerating different kinds of sons, names one who is born of a *jāra* (a lover). This appears to indicate that premarital chastity was not so valued in Vedic times as it is in later times and that the young girls in a clan were accessible to the youth of the clan. The bridegroom had to buy off the right over a girl from all her brothers—own brothers and clan-brothers—and even after doing so, the practice of a *jāra* persisted for some time as the quotation from Yajurveda shows.

The Vedic data show that only the eldest son had the right to marry and inherit all the property. Modern Kinship terms and certain Kinship usages confirm this conjecture. The younger brothers were allowed access to the wife or wives of the eldest brother and if a younger brother married, he sinned against the elder brother.

In Atharvaveda¹ is given a magic formula by which the sin of a younger brother, who marries before his elder brother, is wiped off. The parents who allowed such a marriage are also co-sinners. It would appear, that in marrying before an elder brother, the younger brother usurps the right of inheritance and marriage possessed by the elder brother and that the elder brother could not marry after the marriage of a younger brother. In later times it is considered merely unseemly and the real significance of the custom is lost.² The word *vara* (वर्) meaning bride-groom is used for the groom, as also for the young men in his train. In Atharvaveda the groom is called *jyesthavara* (the principle or the eldest *vara*), to distinguish him from the other

¹ Annals of the B. O. R. I. Vol. XX. pp. 113, 114.

² Santanu married and inherited the kingdom, because his elder brother Devāpi was an ascetic. Soon after his accession there was a famine, which could be mitigated only when Devāpi consented to go to the capital and sacrifice for Santanu. It appears as if Santanu had suffered a famine on account of his sin in superseding his brother and had to expiate it before he could become successful. The terrible destruction of the Mahābhārata battle may be viewed in this context as a punishment inflicted by the angry spirits on the race of Santanu, who allowed his younger sons Citravirya and Vicitravirya to rule and marry, thus depriving Bhīṣma of his birth-right as the eldest son.

varāh.¹ He was the eldest of the brothers and married as representative of them all. The many good wishes and blessings which are showered on the bride, express the desire that she may become the *grhapati* and speak in the assembly,² that she may rule over her brothers-in-law, her sisters-in-law, her father-in-law and her mother-in-law and the whole household. She is further called upon to enter the group of houses (*यहान् गच्छ*³ and प्र यहान् इमान् विश्वा⁴) of which she is to be the mistress. All this can be achieved by the wife of the eldest son only, who ruled the household after his father.

The bride is asked to be pleasing to her brothers-in-law. The word *devr* in modern dialects stands for the younger brother-in-law and may have had the same meaning in the Rgvedic times. In modern dialects a word for the elder brother-in-law is coined at a late date, but in Rgvedic period no such word existed as a woman never had an elder brother-in-law.

Even more significant are the modern data on this custom. According to the interpretation above, a girl was married to one brother and as such was enjoyed by all the brothers. She was not married to one individual, but was the bride of the whole family. In Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra it is definitely stated that a girl is given to a family,⁵ i. e. marriage is a contract between two families and not between two individuals. In Brhaspati Śruti are enumerated ancient customs, which are to be avoided in the Kali-age. One such custom is the giving of a daughter to a family.⁶ In the Kali-age a daughter should not be given to a whole family. The positive assertion of the older authority and its negation by a later authority are a proof that the custom by which a bride was the common property of all the brothers, was an ancient custom. It must be borne in mind, however, that a woman was never simultaneously married to all the brothers. She was the wife of the eldest, while the younger ones had access to her.

Two customs found in India today also point out to this usage. The eldest brother is called the *jeth* and his wife is called *jethāṇi*. A woman calls her husband's younger brother *der* or *devar* and his wife is called *derāṇi*. In Gujarat, U. P., Bengal and to a smaller extent in Mahārāṣṭra, the *jeth* or the elder brother-in-law is

¹ Av. 11.8.2, 3, ² Rv. 10.85-26 and Av. 14.1.20. ³ Av. 14.1.20. ⁴ Av. 14.2.26

⁵ कन्या कुलाय एव दीयते । Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra, quoted in Dharma Kośa, Vyavahārakāṇḍa p. 1018.

⁶ कुले कन्या प्रदानं च । Brhaspati Smṛti, quoted in Dharma Kośa p. 1030.

not allowed to speak to the wife of his younger brother. The *derāṇī* (the wife of the younger brother), may never show her face to the *jeth*, i. e. her elder brother-in-law. On the other hand, the *jethāṇī* or the wife of the elder brother is on terms of great familiarity with the younger brothers of her husband. In certain parts it is customary that the younger brothers have access to the wife of the eldest brother.¹

The two usages of prescribed avoidance of the elder brother-in-law by the wives of the younger brothers and the familiarity between the wife of the elder brother and her younger brothers-in-law would be understandable on the assumption that formerly only the eldest brother married and that his wife was accessible to the other brothers.²

The term *devr* is derived from the root *div* to play and thus becomes a term significant of the relationship between the *devr* and his elder sister-in-law, with whom he is on terms of playing and joking.

In a family, where only one brother was married, all the children would belong to him. If he is called the father, his brothers would be "younger fathers" or "little fathers" to his children and in reality we do find such a term being used for uncle in some of the modern Indogermanic dialects of India. In Vedic times, as we have already seen, no separate word for uncle was evolved because all the brothers of the father were regarded also as fathers. In Pāli we have the term *cullatāta* (चुल्लतात), in Ardhamāgadhi we have the word *cullatāo* (चुल्लताओ) or *cullapiu* (चुल्लपिउ) and the modern Marāthī has *cūlatā* (चुलता), all equivalent to the Sanskrit compound word *ksullatāta* (क्षुल्लतात) meaning the little-father.

Among the polyandrous Tibetans there are certain practices which are parallel to the Vedic practices depicted above. Among the Tibetans only the eldest brother marries and the younger brothers have access to the wife of the eldest brother. If a younger brother marries before the elder, the elder has perforce to enter a

¹ Cf. for example, such songs as 'देवरा बाजू ले गयो.'

² Just as this Vedic custom was modified so that the younger brothers also married, their wives having a portion subordinate to the wife of the elder brother, the other custom by which the eldest alone inherited his father's property was so modified, that all the brothers got a share in the father's property, the eldest receiving a slightly larger share than the other. Hindu Law Books edited by W. Stokes, *Dīyabhāga* pp. 193-94.

monastery and become a monk. The Kinship terms for the father and his younger brother are as follows. "A. Pa. Chen. Po." or "A. Pha. Chen. Po" means the great father and is applied to the eldest husband of a woman. He is held to be the father of all the children born of her. "A. Pa. Chuñ. nu." means the younger husband of a woman and is the junior father of her children. "A. Pha. Chuñ. ba" means the junior father, i. e., the second joint husband of one's mother.¹

Prof. D. N. Majumdar recently read a paper² on the social organisation of some cis-Himālayan tribes. He has kindly given me a copy of his manuscript. The inhabitants of this region, called the Khasiyas (to be sharply distinguished from the Khasis of Assam) are of Indo-Aryan origin and seem to have occupied their present home long before the Christian era. They are long-headed, tall, of fair complexion and light hazel or blue eyes, with thin long noses. Thus they are Europoid in their bodily characteristics. They are divided into castes of Brahmans and Kṣatriyas. They are a patriarchal people, with patrilineal inheritance and patronymic designation. "The Khasiyas live in a joint family, the brothers sharing the wife or wives in common. All the husbands of the mother, who are brothers, are addressed as father. If there are four brothers, the eldest is addressed as "barā bābā" (the big father) the next as "choṭā bābā" (the little father), the third is "bhedi bābā" (father who tends sheep), and the youngest as "gaiar bābā" (father who tends cows). The family house belongs to the eldest brother, the garden, crops, cattle, sheep are owned by him and the wife and children with the duty of maintenance and control are his. He is the governor of the family and his brothers accept his rule and authority without grumbling."

This picture of the social organisation of a cis-Himālayan tribe is comparable to the one relating to the Vedic society, as given in this paper. Polyandry thus seems to be a feature of the

¹ Prof. P. V. Bapat of the Fergusson College drew my attention to this terminology. It is taken from the Tibetan Dictionary by Dās. pp. 1344 and 422.

² "The Culture Pattern of a polyandrous Society." by D. N. Majumdar, M. A., Ph.D., F. R. A. S., Proc. Ind. Science Congress, Madras, 1940, p. 185.

ancient Vedic culture and not a sporadic occurrence among certain aboriginal tribes.¹

Just as some of the archaic features of this culture are preserved in the backwaters of the cis-Himalayan region, there is another region which has preserved them to a certain extent. In Malabar the Nambudri Brahmins form an island of patriarchal people surrounded by matriarchal communities. Their tradition gives them an original home in Northern India, from where they migrated southwards in some distant prehistoric period. Among them only the eldest son is allowed to marry. The younger brothers have no access to the elder brother's wife, but the need for this concession had vanished in their peculiar social environment. These people are the neighbours of the matriarchal Nāyars, among whom the husband of a woman is an occasional guest, the children living with and belonging to the mother's clan. The younger sons of Nambudris form an alliance with the Nāyar women. They are thus provided for without their family having to be burdened by their progeny. This curious adaptation to a new social environment, explains the taboo placed on the younger brothers to even see the wife of the elder brother. Language however has kept a trace of the ancient custom. Among Nambudris the term for husband is "nambudri." A woman talking of her husband will say simply "the nambudri" or "my nambudri." While speaking about her husband's brother, she says "elaya nambudri" i. e. younger nambudri or younger husband. This terminology reminds one of the Atharvavedic distinction between *jyeṣṭha-vara*, the bride-groom and *varāḥ*, his brothers.

The eldest brother, as shown above, marries as representative of the whole clan and on his death the widow passes on to the next brother. In Atharvaveda, we have the following sequence. The widow is made to lie on the funeral pyre of the dead husband, a man called *Didhiṣu* lifts her up by taking hold of her hand and becomes her husband.² The Āśvalāyana Sūtra adds that the *didhiṣu* is a brother of the dead man and according to the theory proposed above he must have been a younger brother or a clansman of the husband. That the widow waited upon the *devr*

¹ May not the Todas, with their Europoid features and a pastoral life, be after all an early branch of the pastoral Aryans to penetrate to the south?

² Cf. Annals of the B. O. R. I. Vol. XX, p. 135. Av. 18.3.2.

or the younger brother of her husband, is also clear from another passage in *Rgveda*, where a woman calls on *Aśvinau* and asks them.¹ “को वां शयुत्रं विधवेष देवरम् कृषुते” (who brings you to bed as a widow does her brother-in-law?). A woman on her marriage is given to a particular family and she goes from her father's clan (*pitrloka*) to her husband's clan (*patiloka*) and (after her death) attains heaven to join her husband. A bride entering her husband's house is told अद्वर्मङ्गली पतिलोकं आ विश इमम्² (Enter your husband's house with happy omens). Her living together with any of the brothers of her husband does not create any difficulties as to her position on earth and in heaven. If however a man outside the husband's clan wished to marry a widowed or a divorced woman, a difficulty arises. The woman belongs by her first marriage to a particular clan in life and in death and that connection has to be severed if she desires a permanent union with another man. In *Atharvaveda* we have the following verses,

या पूर्वे पति विन्वा अथ अन्यं विन्दते अपरम् ।

पञ्चौदनं च तावजं ददातो न वि योषतः ॥ Av. 9.5.27.

समानलोको भवति उन्नर्खवा अपरः पतिः ।

यो अजं पञ्चौदनं दक्षिणा ज्योतिषं ददाति ॥ Av. 9.5.28.

(when she, who had obtained a husband, gets another husband afterwards, the twain shall not be parted if they give the pañcaudana and a goat. The seconded husband with the re-wedded wife gets to the same world when he gives the goat and pañcaudana accompanied by a goodly fee). The use of the word *loka* (लोक) is peculiar to *Atharvaveda*. The girls desirous of marriage are said to be going from *pitrloka* (पितॄलोक) to *patiloka* (पतिलोक).² In the verse above, the husband and wife are said to attain or belong to the *samānaloka* (समानलोक) on sacrificing a goat. This use of the term would suggest that a girl became a family member of her husband when she was married. The following verse from the marriage hymns suggests a ritual binding of the girl to her husband's clan and a ritual unbinding from the father's clan.

उवर्स्कमिव बन्धनात् प्रेतो मुञ्चामि नासुतः । Av. 14.1.17.

(Like a gourd from its stem from here I release, not from there).

प्रेतो मुञ्चामि नासुतः सुबद्धां असुतस्करम् । Av. 14.1.17.

(I release her from here (the father's house) and not from there. I bind her fast there in the husband's house).

¹ Cf. *Annals of the B. O. R. I.* Vol. XX, p. 136 Rv. 10.0.2. ² Av. 14.2.40.

³ उशतीः कन्यला इमाः पितॄलोकात् पति यतीः । Av. 14.2.52.

If she wished to change over to another man, she had to undergo a certain ceremony by which her connection with the clan of her first husband was severed and that with her second husband established. Even when clan exogamy was established, a woman from a strange clan had to become a member of her husband's clan i. e. her husband's clan sister, before she could be married to him. In the hymns of the marriage ritual however no confirmation of this conjecture can be found, possibly because it is a very composite hymn, where old and new ritual is mixed together. Further, when the brother-sister marriage was in vogue, there was no necessity for entering into a ceremonial bond of geschwisterschaft. Mr. B. V. Jadhav of Bombay has put forward a very interesting thesis, in which he attempts to show that certain parts of the modern marriage ritual mean nothing but entering into sisterhood with the husband.¹

The usual words for husband and wife are words which primarily define the status in the household of these two. *Pati* is the one who rules and we have different grades of these chiefs. The *grhapati* was the chief of one household. *Jāspati* was the chief of several connected families and *viśpati* was the ruler of a people i. e. of several groups of families. That *viśpati* developed into a king or *rājan* is clear from many hymns of Atharvaveda. *Grhapati* and *jāspati* are rulers over a group of kindred and *viśpati* denotes leadership with reference to some territorial unit of families living in a contiguous area and not necessarily connected by the blood bond. From leadership of a primitive type we arrive at a political unit, based on the idea of territorial contiguity. *Pati* was the ruler of the household and *patni* was that wife who shared the status of her husband. The two words connote a function which is not contained in the concept of the word man and wife. The word *dampati* at first applied to man as the lord of his household, later came to stand for husband and wife. The married male was always the ruler of the household and his wife shared in his duties and responsibilities. Only the eldest son could become the *pati* and his wife the *patni* and both together were *dampati*. In the Rgveda the words *pati* and *patni* are used in the sense of ruler in many passages; (Annals B. O. R. I. Vol. XX pp. 126, 27-28) and in that period the *pati* and

¹ Recent articles in various Marathi monthlies like महाराष्ट्र शास्त्र, प्रगति etc.

² [Annals, B. O. R. I.]

patni were also the rulers of the household. The word *jāyā* applied to wife emphasises an important function of the wife. She was prized as the mother of sons and the attribute of birth-giver is brought out in the word *jāyā*.

The word *bhartā* for husband, so frequent in later literature, does not appear in Rgveda in the same connotation, except in one place.

In Rgveda and Atharvaveda the terms showing the relationship of a woman to the members of her husband's family are fully developed. The father-in-law, the mother-in-law, the younger brother-in-law and the sister-in-law are all mentioned. The term for mother-in-law *śvaśrū* is used both for the husband's as well as for the wife's mother. The custom by which a daughter-in-law avoided the presence of her father-in-law has already been mentioned; a corresponding taboo between son-in-law and the mother-in-law seems not to have existed. A gambler complains that because of his gambling his mother-in-law hates him and his wife turns away from him.¹ In normal circumstances there was apparently friendly intercourse of a man with the mother-in-law. The daughter-in-law, is called *snusā*.

The word *jāmātr* later on used for the son-in-law also occurs and seems to have the same meaning as in later times. The meaning of the word *śyāla* is not quite clear in the passage in which it occurs. In classical Sanskrit it means wife's brother, though words in modern dialects equivalent to the words *śyāla* have also a different connotation.

The Kinship terminology in Rgveda and Atharvaveda is simple. Terms for the following relations are found in both the Vedas—father, mother, son, daughter, brother, sister, son's wife, sister's husband, husband's father, mother, brother and sister, husband and wife, bride and bridegroom. In Atharvaveda are found words for the grand-father, the great grand-father and grandson, though their meaning is not fixed in all the passages. In Rgveda occurs a word which in later times means wife's brother. None of the terms is descriptive in the sense that the meaning of the terms is clear from the meaning of the word. The terms father, mother, brother, sister and bridegroom seem to have been used in a classificatory way so as to include the brothers and sisters

¹ द्वैषि शशु अपजायां क्रणाद्विः। Rv. 13.34.8.

of these relatives, as also members of the clan who belonged to the same generation as these relatives. The relations on the mother's side are not mentioned. While on the one hand there is a multiplicity of terms for the important male relations, the terms for the female relations are very few indeed. All the affinies of a woman, i. e. all the relations of the husband have each a separate term, while there are only two instances in which the wife's relations are mentioned. The eldest brother alone married and could have more than one wives and as many concubines as he pleased. The younger brothers could not marry and had access to the eldest brother's wife or inherit her after the death of the eldest brother. The widow, if she remained in the family simply passed over to the next brother, there being no second marriage. A marriage ceremonial for a widow was required only if a widow decided to marry outside her husband's family. The father of the family had absolute control over all the members of his family and could have access to his daughters or widowed daughter-in-law if he wanted a son. This system however disappeared. There was then for a long time the practice of a brother-sister marriage. The kinship terminology reflects this usage very well. This in its turn, owing probably to contact with a people of another culture, was given up and clan exogamy was established.

The whole emphasis of the Kinship terminology is on the family with the father at its head. The relations by blood and the relations by marriage which are included in one single family are depicted by different terms. It may have been, from various indications, an enlarged family with many collaterals and their descendants living under one roof or in a group of houses where the oldest male or the chief of the senior family wielded authority as *vispati*. The mother's relatives, the wife's relatives, and the relatives of the sister and daughter by marriage find no mention in Rgveda and Atharvaveda.

Possibly because of the custom of father-daughter intercourse in certain circumstances, only two generations, that of the parents and that of the children, are distinguished and the words for grandfather and grandchild come at later date.

The terminology is used in some cases in a classificatory manner but this usage does not suggest so much a wide clan organisation as the joint family. The Kinship terms were applied

to different members of the family and not to members of the clan, though they might have been used as honorific titles for clan members. Different families connected by blood may have formed a loose organisation comparable to a clan, but the unit which functioned socially was the big joint-family.

The family was a simple closely knit family governed by one man to whom all the males and females were subordinated. The custom of the marriage of the eldest son and his inheritance of all the property again emphasises the feature of family solidarity.

This practice may be termed polyandry, but in the Vedic scheme, although the wife of the eldest was shared by others, the children belonged always to the eldest brother. They were not allotted to different brothers according to certain conventions found among the polyandrous communities of today. The marriage was not performed between several bridegrooms and one bride but between one bridegroom representing his younger brothers and one or more women. The idea underlying seems to be that of family solidarity.

This scheme of Kinship terminology can be called after Rivers the family pattern of Kinship terminology, always bearing in mind the fact, that we are dealing not with the small family of western Europe but with the joint family which included all collaterals with their wives and children.

Some terms are used in a classificatory way because they apply to a whole class of relatives in this big family and do not seem to point to a developed clan organisation over and above the joint-family. Some of the terms like *patni* and *jāyā* may again be designated as descriptive terms, which connote the rights and duties of the relatives so named and applicable to one individual.

We thus find all the three principles included in the Vedic kinship terms. The classificatory use of some terms points to a clan organisation but there are no definite proofs of well organised clans in the Vedic times. On the other hand we have a complete picture of the Grossfamilie which is patriarchal and polyandrous.

This original pattern changed owing to contact with other cultures and on taking over a more settled mode of life on the fertile planes of India. It is proposed to study these changes in the post-Vedic literature of India and to compare the different patterns so obtained with those existing at present in different cultural areas in India.

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बन्धु	Bandhu	140	सुनु	Sūnu	83
भर्तु	Bhartṛ	129	स्नुषा	Snusā	139
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आत्रव्य	Bhrātṛvya	114	स्वस्र	Svasr	109

SOME VERSES ABOUT THE KAYASTHA-PARABHŪS
COMPOSED BY KEŚAVA PĀNDITA BY THE ORDER
OF KING SAMBHĀJI, SON OF SHIVĀJI—C. A. D. 1675

BY

P. K. GODE, M.A.

In a work called the *Parabhū-prakarana*¹ which contains an account of the Parabhū *grāmanya* of A. D. 1747 during the reign of the Maratha King Shāhu, grandson of Shivāji, some 33 verses are quoted as the composition of Śambhurāja or Sambhāji ("शंभुराजकृतश्चेष्टाकाः"). The *Parabhū-prakarana* is a work of anonymous authorship² composed by some one after A. D. 1759 and before about A. D. 1800.³ In view of these verses appearing in a later work removed more than 100 years from Sambhāji's death in A. D. 1689 their authorship as mentioned in the *Parabhū-prakarana*⁴ is open to challenge. We must, therefore, record and

¹ Two MSS of this work are available to me viz. (1) No. 567 of 1883-84 and (2) a MS in the Limaye Collection of the B. O. R. Institute.

² Verse 1 at the beginning reads :—

“ श्रीसिद्धिशुद्धिसहितं प्रणाय गणतायकं ।
केनचिद्विदुषा रुचया लिख्यते परम्पूर्या ॥ ”

The B. O. R. I. MS (No. 567 of 1883-84) of the परम्पूर्यकरण has the following closing verse :—

“ इत्थं तु परम्पूर्यतमधूर्च्छ्वाहौ प्रशासति ।
स्मृत्यर्थं तत् पक्षिकाभिरवज्ञात् कोपि पंडितः ॥ ”

It will thus be seen that the author of the work has taken sufficient care to keep himself anonymous. Both the above verses occur in the Calcutta copy of the work made by प्रभाकर गोविंद उद्योगिनि in A. D. 1810 (Saka 1732). Vide Mitra's *Notices*, X., p. 296.

³ The Calcutta MS of the work is dated Saka 1732 = A. D. 1810 (Vide p. 296 of Mitra's *Notices*, Vol. X, Calcutta, 1892) MS No. 4198. The latest date mentioned in Limaye MS of the परम्पूर्यकरण is Saka 1681 (= A. D. 1759).

⁴ Cf. *Kāyastha-Parabhū-Dharmādarśa* of Nilakanṭha Vinayaka Thatte composed between A. D. 1823-1827 (pp. 129-139 of the *Jour. of Ori. Research Madras*, Vol. XIII, part II, April-June 1939). This work was composed
(continued on next page)

discuss these verses to enable the students of the Maratha history to form their own judgment on the question of the authorship of these verses.

The text¹ of these verses based on the two Ms. of the *Parabhū-prakarana* available to me reads as follows :—

Folio 6—“श्रीम(त)^२छंभुराजकृत श्लोका यथा ॥

आसीत् पूर्थिव्यां शिवभूप इन्द्रो^३
विराजमानः सच्चिवैर्यर्थेन्द्रः ।
प्रसद्य^४ यस्मै भवनस्य^५ राज्यं
दत्तं हि लोकानवितुं भवान्यः^६ ॥ १ ॥
तस्यात्मजः सकलशास्त्राविचारशीलः
श्रीशंभुराजनृपतिः^७ सुशीलः ।
आयोध्येर्जुनवालिलसत्प्रदाने
कर्णः^८ शरीरमदनश्च मनुष्यलोके ॥ २ ॥
आसीत्पांचवटे^९ * रम्ये नगरे शिवनिर्मिते ।
बालाजी परभूः^{१०} कथित्कायस्थो नृपलेखकः ॥ ३ ॥
तत्पुत्रः खण्डनामासीत्कर्तुं तस्योपनायनं ।
मर्ति कृत्वा शिवं प्रदुः बालाजी परभूर्गतः ॥ ४ ॥
बद्धांजलि^{११} नृपस्याग्रे स्थित्वा कार्यं न्यवेदयत् ।
खण्डनाम्नो हृषपनय^{१२} क्रियते श्वो मया प्रभो ॥ ५ ॥
दासे मर्यि दयां कृत्वा गंतव्यं मन्त्रिभिः सह ।
इति श्रुत्वा शिवो भूपः प्रस्युताच महामतिः ॥ ६ ॥

(continued from previous page)

possibly in connection with the *Parabhū-grāmanya* of A. D. 1823 with which Bālājipant Natu of Poona was closely associated. (Vide चांद्रसेनीय कायस्थप्रभु अस्सल आज्ञापत्रे by T. V. Gupte, Poona, 1918—The आज्ञापत्र of Śaṅkarācārya published here on pp. 1-21 is dated Saka 1748 = A. D. 1826. Nilakanṭha Śāstri mentioned in this आज्ञापत्र is identical with the author of the *Kāyastha-Parabhū-Dharmādarsa*. On p. 21 of this आज्ञापत्र we read “पुणे मुकामी निलकंट शास्त्री प्रभुती ब्राह्मणांनी आप्रही तंटा करून दोन वर्षे नड पाढून ब्राह्मणात दुफली केली हैती” etc.

¹ The text in the Limaye Ms is reproduced above. Variants of this text as found in B. O. R. I. Ms No. 567 of 1883-84 will be recorded in the footnotes.

² श्रीमत् शंभू^० ^३ इङ्को for इन्द्रो ^४ प्रसद्य for प्रसद्य ^५ भुवनस्य for भवनस्य ^६ भवान्यः for भवान्यः ^७ शभुराजंजो नृपतिः सुनारा for शंभुराज नृपतिः ^८ जुन इवारिलसत् for जुन वा विलसत् शरीरी for शरीर ^९ जयराम कवि uses “पंचवाइपुरे” for “पंचवटे नगरे” (Vide p. 25 of पण्ठलिप्रहणास्यान ed. by S. M. Divekar), ^{१०} परभू for परभू; ^{११} बद्धांजलि ^{१२} हृषपनयः

सम्यगुकं तथाप्येतत् प्रष्टव्यं शंभवे भुपे । १
 तदाङ्गयेव^२ कर्तव्यं नोचेद्विघ्नो भविष्यति ॥ ७ ॥
 इत्युक्तः शिवभूपेन बालाजी परभू^३मुदा ।
 शंभु^४भूपं समायातः प्रशुं पुत्रोपनायनं ॥ ८ ॥
 राजतं चाक्षतं^५ पात्रं स्थापितं शंभुसंज्ञिधौ ।
 ततो राजाब्रवीद्वाक्यं कार्यं किंचास्ति त्वदृश्वहे^६ ॥ ९ ॥
 इति श्रुत्वा राजवाक्यं बालाजीरवदन् मुदा ।
 मौजीबंधः खंडनाम्नः क्रियते श्वो मया प्रभो ॥ १० ॥
 आज्ञा देया महाराज यतस्त्वंसेवकोस्म्यहं ।
 आगंतव्यं च सचिवैः सह सेवकमंडपे ॥ ११ ॥
 इति श्रुत्वा शंभुराजो धर्मज्ञः शास्त्र^७कोविदः ।
 प्रत्युवाच महाराजः^८ कायस्थं स्वीयसंसदि ॥ १२ ॥
 उपनीयेत्यादवाक्यैर्विषभिर्वतवंधने ।
 अधिकारो द्विजस्यैव प्रोक्तो नान्यस्य कस्यचिद् ॥ १३ ॥
 न च श्रुतं नैव दृष्टं कायस्थस्योपनायनं ।
 सम्यगुद्या^९ दितो राज्ये त्वया धर्मविपर्यया^{१०} ॥ १४ ॥
 विप्राणां मेखला मौजी धनुर्जया क्षत्रियस्य च^{११}
 वैश्यानां मेखला चावी^{१२} भवतां कस्य मेखला ॥ १५ ॥
 यूथं के कश्च दंडोस्ति कीदृशं चोपनायनं ।
 कर्णे किमुपदिश्येत द्यनुष्टाता द्विजश्वकः ॥ १६ ॥
 अनुष्टानक्रमः कश्च कलिपतोस्ति तव द्विजैः ।
 वक्तव्यं शास्त्रतः सर्वं पश्चात् तत्क्रीयतां^{१३} मुदा ॥ १७ ॥
 इति शूपोदितं वाक्यं श्रुत्वा हृदयभेदकं ।
 नोतरं प्रददौ किंचिद्वालाजी तत्र संसदि ॥ १८ ॥
 ततः प्रोवाच मतिमार् शंभु^{१४} शूपो महायशाः ।
 श्रोतव्यः पंडितैः सर्वैरेषां धर्मः सनातनः ॥ १९ ॥
 एते संकरकायस्थाः पंचसंस्कारसंस्कृताः ।
 नमो भंत्रैव चोक्तं कर्मणां क्रियते द्विजैः ॥ २० ॥
 मांसाशनाः सुरापाना निर्दया लोकपीडकाः ।
 दालभ्यैकगोत्रेणान्योन्यं विवाहः क्रियते स्विलैः ॥ २१ ॥

१ प्रष्टव्यं शंभुभूपते: २ तदाङ्गयेव ३ परभू ४ शंभु ५ चाक्षता ६ किं कार्यं चास्ति ते एहे
 ७ शास्त्र ८ महाप्रज्ञः ९ गुत्यादितो १० धर्मविपर्ययः ११ तु १२ त्वावि १३ क्रियते १४ शंभु

[व्याख्या कायस्थशब्दस्य क्राष्णोशनसा ^१ दिता ।
काकात् लौल्यं यमात् कौर्यं स्थपतेर्दृढवातिता ॥ २२ ॥
आयाक्षराणि संगृह्य कायस्थः केन निर्मितः ।
कायस्थेनोदरस्थेन मातुमांसं न ^२ भक्षितं ॥ २३ ॥
मा जानीहि दयालुत्वं तत्र हेतुरदंतसा ^३ ।
एवं शार्ङ्गधरेणोक्तं कृतिना मुनिसंमतं ॥ २४ ॥] *
पुनर्भवां विवाहश्च पाटाख्यः सर्वसंमतः ।
प्रसूताया अपि पुनर्जायते ^४ नात्र संशयः ॥ २५ ॥
अथं रामाजी परभू वर्तते भम स्वेवकः ।
पृतस्य भगिनी चास्ति द्वित्रिवारं विवाहिता ॥ २६ ॥
शूद्रा अपि जल नैव पिबत्यषां ^५ गृहे कचित् ।
एवं सनातनो धर्मः कायस्थानां प्रदृश्यते ॥ २७ ॥
[सह्याद्रिखंडे परभूकायस्थोत्पत्तिरीरिता ।
अन्वर्था मुनिपुत्राय वेदव्रतविपश्चिते ॥ २८ ॥]
मांसाशिनः मुरापस्य कायस्थस्योपनायनं ।
कर्त्तव्यमिति को बूयाछिवराजे प्रशासति ॥ २९ ॥
पञ्चसंस्कारातिरिक्तं कर्मेषां यः करिष्यति ।
स विग्रो राजदण्डं ^६ स्यात् बहिष्कायश्च ^७ सर्वतः ॥ ३० ॥
इतीरित शंभुनृपेण वाक्य
शुन्वा सभायां द्विजमंडितायां ।
विनिर्गतोधोमुख एव तस्मात्
बालाजि नामा स्वगृहं विवेश ॥ ३१ ॥
ततोनिदुःखिताः ^८ सर्वान् मौजीवंधार्थमागतान् ।
विसर्ज सुहृद्यान् नाभू मौजीयुतः शिशुः ^९ ॥ ३२ ॥
इत्थं शंभुनृपो धर्मः ^{१०} कायस्थानामयीभवत् ॥
नुपाङ्गया न्यवस्थानात्मर्थं ^{१२} केशवपंडितः ॥ ३३ ॥
एवमन्येषि परभूकायस्थानां कुलाचारानिर्णयः श्लोका सन्ति परंतु
विस्तृती ^{१३} भयां नात्र ^{१४} लिखिताः ”

^१ सोदिना ^२ च ^३ तदा

* Verses 22, 23, and 24 are omitted in the B. I. S. Mandal copy of the *Parabhu-Katha* supplied by Mr. R. K. Patankar of Rajapur.

⁴ उजायते ⁵ पिबत्येषां ⁶ वर्जनात् ⁷ बहिष्कारी च ⁸ दुःखितः ⁹ नाभूनौजी यतः शिशोः ¹⁰ धर्म ¹¹ ममात

¹² नुपाङ्गया वस्त्रा तमर्थ ¹³ विस्तृति ¹⁴ भयान्नाम

In the B. O. R. I. Ms (No. 567 of 1883-84) of the *Parabhū-prakarana* the following colophon has been written in the top-margin of folio 11^a as an addition after verse 33 :—

“ इति श्री शंभुराजाह्या शंभुराजसभायां विद्वजनसहकेशवपंडितकृत-
कायस्थपरम्परनिर्णयः ॥ शके १५९७ राखसनामसंवत्सरे तद्विनि रामचंद्र-
ज्योतिर्विदा कल्याणस्थेन लिखितं ”

The above colophon suggests that the verses quoted above were copied from some Ms having the above colophon which states the following important particulars :—

(1) The title of the verses taken together was कायस्थपरम्परनिर्णय.

(2) The verses were composed by केशवपंडित by the order of शंभुराज or Sambhaji in consultation with other learned men of the court of Sambhaji.

(3) The verses were copied by one Rāmacandra Jyotirvid or Joshi of Kalyāna in Śaka 1597 or A. D. 1675.

This colophon also suggests that the MSS of कायस्थपरम्परनिर्णय by Keśava Pandita (from which verses were reproduced in the परम्पराकरण) actually existed, one such copy having been made in A. D. 1675 as proved by the above colophon.

The year of the Kalyāna copy of Keśava Pandita's work viz. A. D. 1675 (Śaka 1597) seems to show that this copy was prepared in the very year in which the *Parabhū grāmanya* of Śaka 1597 took place according to a document¹ dated A. D. 1673 which gives some particulars about 9 *Parabhū grāmanyas*, the 4th of which took place at Kalyāna in Śaka 1595 = A. D. 1675. The identity of subject matter, date and place as proved by the B. O. R. I. Ms colophon and the list published by Rajawade is not a mere coincidence and hence it retains its evidential value unless contradicted by stronger contemporary evidence.

The contents of the 33 verses quoted already may be briefly indicated as follows :—

Bālāji Prabhū of the Kāyastha caste hailed from the village Pānqvad founded by Shivāji. He was a scribe to Shivāji,

¹ Sources of Maratha History by Rajawade, Khandā VI, p. 523—

“(४) नवये ग्रामण्य कल्याण मातीं जाले, त्याजला रघुनाथपंडित अमात्याची पत्रे नेऊन निराकरण केल शके १५९७.”

wanted to perform the Muñja ceremony of his son Khanda¹ and made arrangements accordingly. He went to Shivaji with an invitation for the Muñja ceremony. Shivaji directed Bälaji² to follow the advice of Sambhaji in this matter of the performance of the Muñja ceremony of his son. He, therefore, approached Sambhaji and invited him to attend the ceremony. He also sought his order for performing the ceremony. Sambhaji refused to allow the performance of the ceremony, as according to the Śastras the Kāyasthas could not do so. Thereupon Bälaji returned home rather disappointed and then dispersed his friends and relatives that had gathered at his house for the Muñja ceremony.—Keśava Pandita composed by royal order these verses containing the substance of Sambhaji's advice to Bälaji Parabhū.

I am inclined to believe that Keśava Pandita who composed the verses under discussion is identical with Keśava Pandita, the author of the *Rājārāma Carita* published by Mr. V. S. Bendre. In fact the following verse 22 of Sarga IV (p. 42) of this poem composed by this Pandita refers to *Khaṇḍo Ballāla*, who is no other than master Khanda, the Son of Balaji Parabhū mentioned in the verses (Circa A. D. 1675) :—

“त्वण्डोबलालमुख्याश्र कायस्थाश्चित्गुप्तजाः ।
चंद्रसेनान्वयाश्चान्ये श्रीदालभ्यकृतगोपनाः ॥ २२ ॥ ”

This verse tells us that in the expedition of Rājārāma Chatrapati to Jinji in A. D. 1690 Khando Ballala and other men of his caste were present. This caste is specified by our author by the adjectives—

“कायस्थाः चित्गुप्तजाः, चंद्रसेनान्वयाः” and “दालभ्यकृतगोपनाः”

The origin of the Cāndrasenīya Kāyastha Parabhūs as specified by the above adjectives in the *Rājārāma Carita* is analogous to that mentioned in the *Sahyādri Khaṇḍa* of the *Skandapūrāṇa*;

¹ Khando Ballal Chitnis died in A. D. 1726 (vide p. 263 of Marathi Riyasat (Part II, Vol. IV, 1922) by G. S. Sardesai. His son Govind Khaṇḍo (A. D. 1716-85) was Chitnis to Raja Shahu.

² Balaji Āvji became Chitnis to Shivaji in Śaka 1570 = A. D. 1648. This date is given in the Bakhar of Malhar Rāmrao and in the *Śivapratāp* but the *Jedhe Chronology* has no mention of it (vide p. 203 of शिवचरित्रप्रदीप S. N. Joshi's article).

but it is difficult to assert that Kesava Pandita had before him a text of the *Sahyādrikhanda* as we find it today¹

Now let us consider the chronology of Khando Ballāja Chitnis and Kesava Pandita in parallel columns :—

Keśava Pandita=KP	A. D.	A. D.	Khando Ballāja=KB
		1648	Khando's father Bālaji became Chitnis to Shīvājī (according to Chitnis Bakhar and <i>Shivapratāpa</i>).
KP Composed some verses by order of Sambhāji about the Kāyastha Parabhus.	C 1675	C 1675	Probable date of the proposed Muñja ceremony of KB
KP received 1600 laris from Sambhāji	1684	1681-89	KB was Chitnis to Sambhāji.
KP's signature occurs in a document of 16-3-1686 (Rajawade Khandā VIII, 40)	1686		
KP Composed <i>Rājārāma carita</i> which refers to KB in IV, 22	1690	1690	KB accompanied Rājārāma to Jinji with some men of his caste.
Rāmacandra Nilakantha asks the Havaldar of Sangameshvar to hand over certain lands to KP	1692		
(<i>Peshwa Daftari</i> 31-Letter No. 53 dated 27-3-1692)			

¹ Verse 22 states: “ सहाद्रिसंडे परम्परायस्योत्पत्तिरिति ” but this verse is omitted in the Rajapur Ms of the *Kāyastha-Parabhu-Nirṇaya* which appears to me to be the oldest Ms of the work. In fact its owner Mr. R. K. Patankar calls it “ जरा जज्जरवद्धमः ” in the versified endorsement on its copy supplied by him to the B. I. S. Mandal, Poona. The date of the *Sahyādrikhanda* is still a matter for investigation though it appears to have been composed before A. D. 1700.

Keśava Pandita=KP	A. D.	A. D.	Khando Ballāla=KB
Date of KP's death on <i>22nd February 1718</i> (Saturday) according to the genealogy of the Purohit family in my possession (Śaka 1640, <i>Phālgun, Sudha 2</i>) This date needs corrobora- tion from other sources.	1718	1718	Death of KB's friend Parashurām Tryambak Pratinidhi (p. 288 of <i>History of Satara Prati- nidhis</i> , Vol. I, 1924).
In a grant from Śambhu Chatrapati to KP's son Rāmacandrabhāt dated <i>Wednesday, 26th Feb- ruary 1718</i> we read:— “केशवभट्ट निधनं पाष्ठले ॥” (A copy of this Grant is in my possession as supplied by Devarukh court on 10th February 1931).		1726	Death of KB.

The above chronology makes it highly probable that the 33
verses¹ recorded in this paper are the genuine composition of

¹ The Bharata Itihāsa Samshodhak Mandal, Poona, contains a copy of these verses under the designation “परमूकथा.” This copy was supplied to the Mandal by Mr. Raghunātha Krishna Patankar of Rajapur (Ratnagiri Dist.). Verses 22, 23, 24 and 28 are omitted in this copy so that the Parabhu-Kathā contains 29 verses in all instead of the 33 verses recorded in this paper. This copy ends— “इति श्री शशुराजाज्ञाया शिवराजसभायां विद्वज्जनकेशवपंडित-कृतकायस्थपरम्भनिर्णयः ॥ इति श्री परभूकथा समाप्तिमगमत् ॥ Then follows a Sanskrit versified endorsement by Mr. Patankar as follows :—

“विन्यस्तैषा प्रतिकृतिर्जराजजर्जरवर्घणः ।
लिदितायाः पत्रिकायाश्चिरसंस्थितिहेतुना ॥
पाटणकरकुलेद्युमुतश्चीमस्तद्यज्ञातनुज्ञुषा ।
रघुनाथेन विदुषां श्रीमतामनुयायिना ॥
अंगिरोवत्सरे मासे शुचौ शुक्लैऽहि सोमजे ।
तृतीयायाः हि श्रीमतीं द्युम्द्र संस्थे दिवाकरे ।

[continued on the next page]

Keśava Pandita, the author of the *Rājārāmacarita*. If this view is accepted the importance of these verses will be easily recognized especially in view of the fact that no other work of this author except the *Rājārāmacarita* (edited by Mr. V. S. Bendre) has been so far discovered and published. As Keśava Pandita was closely connected with Śri Shivāji Mahārāja and also his sons Sambhaji and Rājārāma, an effort should be made by all interested in the Maratha history to search for more information about the life and works of this important personality who lived, moved and had his being in the personal presence of the three outstanding Chatrapatis between A. D. 1650 and 1700.

P. S. (1) Keśava Pandita appears to have compiled a work on Dharmasāstra called the *Dharmakalpalatā* for king Sambhaji, son of Shivaji. A portion of this work called दण्डनीतिप्रकरण is represented by a copy preserved in the Tanjore MSS Library (Ms No.536 —Vide Burnell's Catalogue p. 141—"दण्डनीति प्रकरण from नीतिमञ्जरी of शम्भुराज"). This copy was made for Shāmji Nayak Punde in the year 'हुन्दुमि' which corresponds to A. D. 1682. Mr. V. S. Bendre informs me that Shāmji Nayak Punde was appointed Subhedar of Karnātaka in A. D. 1682, the very year in which the above copy was prepared for him. The above Ms begins :—

॥ श्रीगणेशायनमः ॥

प्रसच्चवदनं रामं निधाय ह्वादि केशवः ।
धर्मकल्पलतासिद्ध्यै ततुते नीतिमञ्जरीम् ॥ १ ॥

श्रीगणेशायनमः ॥

जयत्यसौ शंभु म(ही)महेन्द्रः ।
प्रस्थातकीर्तिः प्रियधर्मसूतिः ।
दानेन यस्याखिल... ... प्रसार्थः ।
शश्वर्कृता सुखिनो भवन्ति ॥ २ ॥

(continued from previous page)

प्रतिमान्तरमेताहि विहितं हि मया पुनः ।
श्री रतेतिहासीयमंडलार्थं तृतीयके ॥
मा कु द्वितीयायां सायाह्वे भौषधासरे ।
आकाशर्तु व भूशाकेऽव्ये बहुधान्यके ॥
रघुनाथेन वेदोक्तधर्ममार्गीवलम्बिना ।
संतुष्टादु भगवांस्तेन धर्मोऽस्माकं सनातनः ॥ २ ॥

मन्वादि शास्त्राणि विचार्य सम्यक्
 तथा निबंधांश्च मिताक्षरादीन् ।
 सरि(?) समादाय तत्थं तेन
 निबध्यतेस्मिन्दलु दण्डनीतिः ॥ ३ ॥

The Ms ends :—

“इति श्रीमन्महाराजाधिगजक्षत्रियकुलावतसिंहासनाधीश्वरश्रीशंभुराज-
 छत्रपतिविरचिते ग्रंथे बुधभूषणे श्रीमत्पुरोहितदामोदरभट्टात्मजकेशवपंडित-
 विरचितधर्मकल्पलतांतर्गतनीतिमंजर्या दण्डनीतिप्रकरणम् ॥ श्रीरस्तु ॥ श्री-
 रामाय नमः ॥ शके राज्याभिषेकीये दुंदुभसंवत्सरे लिहमिदं पुस्तकम् ।

दण्डनीतिव्यवहारमञ्चरि श्रीशामजी नायक पुण्ड्योपनाम्नां ग्रन्थः
 पत्रसंख्या ३१ ॥ ”

The above Ms is described under the title बुधभूषण in the *Descriptive Catalogue of Tanjore MSS* Vol. XVIII (1934) p. 8665—No. 18737. A second copy of the work is indicated as No. 18738 but not described. A work called बुधभूषण is edited by Prof. H. D. Velankar for B. O. R. Institute (1926). Mr. V. S. Bendre intends to publish in the near future the दण्डनीतिप्रकरण referred to above so that we shall have before us three works of Keśava Pandita viz. (1) राजारामचरितम् (A. D. 1690) (2) दण्डनीतिप्रकरण (before A. D. 1682) and (3) कायस्थपरम्भनिर्णय (A. D. 1675).

(2)— As the march of Rājārāma Chatrapati to Jinji in 1690 became the subject of the poem *Rājārāmacarita* by Keśava Pandita in the Marāthā country, the siege of Jinji (1689–1697) appears to have captured the imagination of the people in the south so as to become the subject of a Mono-Drama in Tamil called “*Seyda-K-Kādi Nōṇḍi-Nāṭakam*” (Ed. with Notes and English Introduction by Dr. S. M. H. Nair, University of Madras *Annals of Oriental Research*, 1939, Vol. IV, Part 1). This is a drama of the lame man who sings in honour of Seyda-K-Kādi, a generous patron of Tamil poets, both Hindu and Muslim. This patron was a great friend of Vijaya Raghunāth Tevar alias Kilvan Setupati, (1674–1710). The author of the drama appears to have been a convert to Islam. The lame man gives in the drama his autobiography in which he recounts his adventurous journey to Jinji where the war between the Mughals and the Marathas was in full blaze after the execution of Sambhaji Chatrapati in A. D. 1689. The drama contains a contemporary

picture in words of the Siege of Jinji and is full of references to contemporary Mughal commanders under Zulfiqarkhan and the Maratha commanders under Rājārāma Chatrapati. He refers to Rājārāma in the following manner :— “At Jinji, great among the farfamed cities, lived the son of Sivaji Raja, the lion to his foes, at whose feet the enemies prostrate. He was a stern upholder of justice. He was gifted with a beaming face and an attractive personality. He was addicted to the pleasures of life.” We must remember that this is a contemporary picture of Rājārāma’s personality by a Muslim convert and hence should possess some historical value for the students of the Maratha history. This Mono-Drama in Tamil edited for the first time by Dr. Nair with an excellent historical introduction and based on only one Ms in the Govt. Oriental Library, Madras, deserves to be translated into Marathi or English for the benefit of the people of the Maharashtra. May I suggest to the Bharata Itihasa Samshodhak Mandal, Poona, to include such a translation of this Mono-Drama in its project of the *Sources of Maratha History*? As this Institution has already published some volumes of the Canarese and Persian sources of the Maratha History, the publication of this *Tamil* source in the form of a translation will enrich our knowledge of this period. As Dr. Nair observes the author of the Drama “sends the hero to Jinji and through him has contributed in his own way some interesting materials which help us in our historical studies.”

[In the *Sāhendravilāsa-Kāvya* we find a reference to the siege of Jinji (vide p. 187ff of *Indian Antiquary* 1904). This poem was composed by Śridhara Venkatesa. Rājārām received help from the then Raja of Tanjore :—

“ बलेमहाराज भवच्छिद्वैदिव्यान्द्रसैन्यानि विदारितानि ।
स राजरामश्च तथाभिगुप्तस्तद्वाते त्वां महती यशःश्रीः ॥ ”]

APPENDIX

[I have compared the Limaye Ms (of the *Kāyastha-Parabhū Nirṇaya* of Keśava Pandita—33 verses) with the Patankar Ms of this work (copy preserved in the B. I. S. Mandal). The variants of the Patankar Ms are noted below with respect to each verse. The Patankar Ms appears to represent the contemporary * text of the work].

Limaye Ms verse No.	Patankar Ms verse No.	Variants in Patankar Ms
1	1	a—आस्ति for आसीत् ; ईहचो for इन्द्रो b—“मानस्सचिवै” for मानः सचिवै c—भवनस्य for भवनस्य
2	2	d—“मवितु for नवितुः ; भवान्याम् for भवान्यः b—श्रीशंभुराजः for श्रीशंभुराजः ; Adds सुभग before सुशीलः c—इवासिल for वासिल
3	3	d—शरीर for शरीर
4	4	a—अस्ति for आसीत् b—शिवलेखकः for उपलेखकः a—“नामास्ति for “नामासीत् ; “नायक for “नायनं
6	6	a—कृपां for दयां ; “गन्तव्यं for गन्तव्यं
7	7	b—महायुतिः for महामतिः a—परं त्वेतत् for तथाप्येतत् ; शंस्त्वपतः for शंभवे भूपे
8	8	b—तदाज्ञयत् for तदाज्ञयेव
9	9	a—परभु for परभु b—शंभुर्पर्ण for शंखुं भूप a—अक्षतापात्रं for अक्षतं पात्रं b—किं कार्यं क्रियते त्वया for कार्यं कि चास्ति त्वदगृहे

* Keśava Pañdita has recorded in his verses the decision of Sambhaji Mahārāja about the right of the Kāyastha-Parabhūs to perform the Muṇḍa ceremony. His references to contemporary persons should, therefore, be naturally indicated by the use of the form “अस्ति” as found uniformly in the Patankar Ms (= P) instead of the form “आसीत्” as used in the Limaye Ms (= L). The following examples will make the point clear :—

Verse 1—(P)—“अस्ति पृथिव्यां शिवभूपः” for (L)—“आसीत् पृथिव्यां एत्क्ष.”

Verse 3—(P)—“अस्ति पांचवटे रम्ये नगो ” for (L)—“आसीत् पांचवटे एत्क्ष.”

Verse 4—(P)—“तत्पुत्रः खंड नामास्ति ” for (L)—“खंडनामासीत् एत्क्ष.”

Limaye Ms verse No.	Patankar Ms verse No.	Variants of Patankar Ms
10	10	a—हावदत्तदा for °रवन्दमुदा
12	12	b—महाप्राज्ञः for महाराजः
13	13	b—प्रोक्ता for प्रोक्तो
14	14	a—नैव श्रुतं for न च श्रुतं b—°युत्पादितो for °गुह्यादितो; °विपर्ययः for °विपर्यया
15	15	b—मेखला त्वावी for मेखला चावी; भवतो for भवतां
16	16	a—कस्य for कश्च
17	17	b—कियतां सुखम् for क्रीयतां छुदा
20	20	a—कायस्थजातीयाः for संकरकायस्थाः b reads “एतेषां नाममंत्रेण कर्म प्रोक्तं विधीयते”
21	21	b—गोत्रतो for गोत्रेण
22...	Omitted	
23...	"	
24...	"	
25	22	a—विवाहोऽस्ति for विवाहश्च
26	23	a—परस्वर्वत्ते ग्रामलेखकः for परस्व वर्तते मम सेवकः a—पिबंत्येषां शुद्धेषुना for पिबत्येषां शुद्धे क्षचित्
27	24	
28	Omitted	
29	25	b--°छिवराजे for °छिवराजे
30	26	b--स्या द्विष्कारीच for स्यात् द्विष्कार्यश्च
31	27	b—निजसंसामतायाश् for विजमंडितायां
32	28	a—अतिदृग्भितः for अतिदृग्भिताः b—नाशू न्मौजी यतः शिशीः for नाशू न्मौजियुतः शिशुः
33	29	a—धर्म for धर्मः; कायस्थानामभाषत for कायस्थानामयीभवत् b—राजाज्ञया न्यबध्नात्तम् for नृपाज्ञया न्यबध्नात्तम्

N. B.—Those who are interested in the history of caste disputes about the Kāyastha Prabhus may read with profit (1) राजवाड्यांची गागाभट्टी by K. T. Gupte, Poona 1919 and (2) चांद्रसेनेय कायस्थ प्रभु ग्रामण्यप्रकरणांतील पांच अस्सल आज्ञापत्रे by T. V. Gupte, Poona, 1918. In the Appendix of the first of these publications the author has published the following works and documents of historical value:—

(1) कायस्थधर्म द्वीप by गागाभट्टी (pp. 1-23).

(2) कायस्थपम् प्रदीप by गागाभट्ट (pp. 24-31) Mr. Gupte states that the प्रदीप is a sort of supplement to the दीप (p. 31).

(3) Letter dated A. D. 1779 from the Pandits of Benares.

(4) आज्ञापत्र from Peshwa Bājirao Raghunāthrao to the Brahmins.

(5) Letter from the Benares Pandits dated A. D. 1801.

(6) Letter dated A. D. 1836 from the Karvir Jagadguru.

(7) Letter dated A. D. 1831 from the Saṅkeśvara Jagadguru.

(8) Letter dated A. D. 1839 from the Śringeri Jagadguru.

(9) Letter dated A. D. 1913 from the Karvir Jagadguru.

List of Persons, Places and works mentioned in the Kāyastha-Parabhū-Nirṇaya composed by Keśava Pañqita in C. A. D. 1675 by the order of Sambhāji.

शिवधूप—Shivāji Mahārāja (1, 2, 6, 8, 29) died A. D. 1680.

शंभुराज—Sambhāji Mahārāja (2, 7, 8, 9, 12, 19, 31, 33) died A. D. 1689.

पांचवट नगर—Pācvad at the foot of Raigad fort, called शिवनिर्मित (3) known as Vādi Pācad.

बालाजी परम—Bālaji Avaji (3, 4, 10, 18, 31) became Chitnis to Shivaji C. A. D. 1648.

खण्ड—Son of Bālaji Avaji, commonly known as Khando Ballāl Chitnis (died in 1726) (4, 5, 10).

दाल्घ्यगोत्र—Gotra of the Kāyasthas (21).

उशनम्—Sage (22).

शार्ङ्गधर—Sage (24).

रामाजी परम—(26) called by Sambhāji as "मम सेवकः" According to Rajapur Ms he is called "ग्रामलेखकः" by Sambhāji.

सहायि संड—Part of the *Skandapūrāṇa* (28).

केशव पंडित—(38) He composed the *Kāyastha-Purāṇa-Nirṇaya* verses, numbering 29 (according to the Rājāpūr Ms) and 33 (according to the Limaye Ms and the B. O. R. I. Govt. Ms No. 567 of 1883-84). He is also the author of the राजारामचरित edited by Mr. V. S. Bendre. His dates range from A. D. 1675 to 1718 a period of 43 years but he must have been at least 25 years old when he composed the verses under reference in A. D. 1675. This calculation would give us a life-time of 68 years for him. His birth date may lie between A. D. 1640 and 1645 but we require evidence on the point.

THE ĀŚVALĀYANA-MANTRA-SAMHITA¹

BY

Dr. V. M. APTE

Among the Gr̥hyasūtras, those of Āpastamba and Gobhila are peculiar in one respect. They merely describe the rites and refer to the Mantras cited for employment therein, as known from their respective special Mantra-collections: ‘the Mantrapāṭha’ and ‘the Mantra-Brāhmaṇa,’ which they definitely presuppose. In the Gr̥hyasūtras of the other Vedic schools, the mantras are rubricated in the sūtras, being quoted by their *pratikas* when they are taken from the Saṁhitās to which the Gr̥hyasūtras belong and *in extenso*, when they are taken from other Saṁhitās. Nevertheless, in the case of these Gr̥hyasūtras, too, the convenience of reference dictated the compilations of Mantras cited in them from the particular Saṁhitās to which they belonged, as for example the ‘Mantrapāṭha of the white Yajurveda’, the ‘Mādhyamīndīnya, Mantrasaṁhitā’² etc. Most of these remain unpublished and are known only in manuscripts. It is rather unfortunate to have to note in this connection, that a lot of confusion seems to have attended the assignment of a ‘Mantra-saṁhitā’ to the Āśvalāyana Gr̥hyasūtra! Max Müller’s error in describing the Āśvalāyana-Śākhokta-Mantra-Saṁhitā as giving the Mantras quoted in the Āśvalāyana Gr̥hyasūtra has been pointed out below. (2) The Āśvalāyana-Mantra-Saṁhitā published in Poona (1884) gives mantras recited at domestic rites which were developed at a time much later than that of the AG.³ (3) The manuscript described as the Gr̥hyasūtra-mantra-saṁhitā under ‘Āśvalāyana,’ on p. 56 of Aufrecht’s Catalogus Catalogorum (Part I, 1891), turns out to be that of a Mantra-saṁhitā used at the Gr̥hya rites of the Rgvedins of much later days! (4) The manuscript ‘सन्त्रसहिता कर्येदस्य’ [No. 4A] described on p. 2 of the ‘Lists of Sanskrit Manuscripts compiled under the Superintendence of R. G.

¹ Paper read at and accepted for publication by the Tenth Oriental Conference, Tirupati.

² The Mantrapāṭha (Anecdota Oxoniensia) edited by Dr. Winternitz 1897; Introduction p. x, foot note 3.

³ AG. = Āśvalāyana Gr̥hyasūtra ; ĀMS. = Āśvalāyana-Mantra-Saṁhitā.

Bhandarkar' (Part I, Bombay, 1893) as beginning with 'उद्दृतं जातवेदसं' etc. is also a late work. Another manuscript entitled 'मन्त्रसंहिता' which I found in the Anandāśrama collection in Poona seems to be a copy of this same work.

The ĀMS. then, two manuscripts of which I found in the library of the India office and which I describe in detail below, is, so far as my knowledge goes, the only work of its kind which gives all the Rgveda Mantras cited by their *pratikās* in the Grhya and Śrauta sūtras of Āśvalāyana. I would be grateful if any reader of this Journal draws my attention to any other similar work in a printed or manuscript form.

An interesting aspect of this work is that its versions of certain Khila-hymns of the Rgveda are different in many respects from those in the editions of Müller and Aufrecht or in 'Die Apokryphen des Rgveda' by Dr. Scheftelowitz.¹

The importance of such a work, besides, for a textual criticism of the Śrauta and Grhya sūtras of Āśvalāyana is evident. If, for instance, the Rgveda Mantras cited in certain sūtras of those texts are not traced to the ĀMS., then a doubt at least is possible as to the genuine character of these sūtras because the ĀMS. in relation to either the Śrauta or Grhya sūtra, taken singly for comparison, is apt to err on the side of excess in the number of Mantras it contains. This investigation will be more fruitful if the genuine character of such sūtras is liable to strong suspicion on quite independent grounds also. I have carried out such an investigation with reference to the ĀG. and have published the results in the Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, Vol. I.

A detailed description of the contents of two manuscripts of this unpublished Āśvalāyana-Mantra-Saṃhitā in the library of the India Office follows now.

In the Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India office Part I (by J. Eggeling : 1887) the following brief description of these manuscripts is found on page 73 :—

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1970. Foll. 196; size 8 in. by 3¾ in.; well written, in the Devanāgarī character; 7-9 lines in a page.

Mantrasamhitā, a collection of verses from the Rgveda-

¹ Breslau; 1906.

saṁhitā, (apparently for the use of the Hotṛ priest, in connection with the Āśvalāyana-sūtra, cf. next Ms.) Foll. 1-19 with the accents marked.

[The passages extracted from the first Aṣṭaka (foll. 1-20) are then given].

The Ms. ends : “ Śake 1729 prabhavanāmasaṁvatsare Vaiśā-khaśukla-aṣṭamyaṁ bhṛguvāsare tadvidenedam pustakam samāptam. Kejkaropanāmakaganeśena likhitam svārtham parārthaṁ ca.”

[Dr. J. Taylor].

(This manuscript is referred to as A in the detailed description that follows).

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781. Foll. 113 ; size 10 in. by 3½ in.; fairly written, in the Devanāgarī character ; 7-9 lines in a page. Another copy of the same collection. Foll. 1-84 and 101 are marked with accents (by the Śrotriya Bālakṛṣṇa, according to a statement at the end of the fourth Aṣṭaka fol. 46). The Ms. ends : “ Ityāśvalāyana-mantra-saṁhitā samāptā. Saṁvat 1767 (‘ Vikrama ’ scored out) śake 1618 Śarvarīnāmasaṁvatsare Kārtike māsi śuklapakṣe caturdaśyām tithau bhaumavāsare idam pustakam Kāśyām grāme likhitam.” The Śaka date is probably wrong, as only the other date corresponds with the year of the cycle of Jupiter given.

(H. T. Colebrooke).

(This manuscript is referred to as B in the following description.)

A comparison of the contents of this Mantra-Saṁhitā, with the texts of the Śrauta and Gṛhya sūtras of Āśvalāyana shows that this work gives all the Mantras from the Rgveda, of which the pratikas are cited in the Gṛhya-sūtra as well as the Śrauta sūtra of Āśvalāyana in the order in which they occur in the Rgveda-saṁhitā, the more modern division of Aṣṭakas and Adhyāyas being followed.

“ *The Āśvalāyana-śākhokta-Mantra-saṁhitā* ” referred to by Max Müller.

This Āśvalāyana—mantra-saṁhitā is an entirely different work from the “ *Āśvalāyana-śākhokta-mantra-saṁhitā* ” described (wrongly as will be shown below) by Max Müller in his ‘ Ancient

Sanskrit literature' p. 474 as "giving the mantras quoted in the Āśvalāyana-Grhya-Sūtra." Max Müller refers to this very work in his second edition of the Rgvedasamhitā Vol. IV p. 536 footnote 1, to Khailika sūkta No. 27 as "Bodl. Ms. Walker 144" which stands for "Bodleian Manuscripts: Walker collection No. 144." Now this manuscript is described in the Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library Vol. II p. 92 as follows:—"The Mantra-samhitā being a collection of the Mantras, of which the pratikas are cited in the Grhya-sūtra of Āśvalāyana, see Max Müller" etc. In the Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the library of His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner, compiled by Rajendralal Mitra (Calcutta 1880), there is, in the description of a manuscript of the Rgvediya-Mantra-samhitā, a remark (p. 26) as follows:—"It is obviously, however, the same work which in Walker's collection is named 'Āśvalāyana-Śākhokta-Mantra-Samhitā' and contains, according to Max Müller, the hymns as required according to the Grhya-sūtras (?) of Āśvalāyana." So Max Müller's statement has been quoted in both these places without verification! Now the contents of the Bodleian manuscript of the Āśvalāyana-Śākhokta-Mantra-Samhitā are described on p. 298^a of the Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Sanscriticorum quotquot in Bibliotheca Bodleiana adservantur by Th. Aufrecht (Oxonii 1864) thus:—

(b) Foll. 102-218 Āśvalāyana-Śākhokta-Mantra-samhitā, fol. 106^a Saura; fol. 107^a Purusa-sūkta; fol. 110^a Viṣṇusūkta; fol. 114^a Vāmanasūkta; fol. 115^b Harisūkta; fol. 116 Devīsūkta; fol. 117^b Sarasvatī-sūkta; fol. 120^b Rudra-sūkta; ibid. Somārudram; fol. 122^a Soma-sūkta; fol. 122^b Duḥsvapna-nāśino mantrāḥ; fol. 123^a Āditya-sūktam ripurogaghnam; fol. 123^b Gosūkta; fol. 127 Svastivācana-mantrāḥ; fol. 130^a Abhisēka-mantrāḥ; fol. 131^b Garbhādhānādikramena mantrāḥ; fol. 133. Anavalobhanamantrāḥ; fol. 135 Śimantonnayana; fol. 136^b Navagrahamantrāḥ; fol. 138^b Sāntisūkta; fol. 144^b Rātrisūkta; fol. 155^a Medhāsūkta; fol. 163^b Osadhīsūkta; fol. 164^b Parjanya-sūkta; fol. 172^b Āśīrvāda-mantrāḥ; fol. 178^a Vivāhahomopayukta-mantrāḥ; fol. 180^b Sthālipāka-mantrāḥ; fol. 183^b Pūrṇāhuti-mantrāḥ; fol. 184^b Navānnasthālipāka-mantrāḥ; fol. 185^a Sarvatobhadra-māndaladevatā-mantrāḥ; fol. 187^b Śrāddhopayogino-mantrāḥ; fol. 192^a Raksoghñāni; fol. 199 Pitr-sūkta.

A mere glance at these contents is enough to show that the Āśvalāyana-Śākhota-mantra-Saṁhitā *does not give the Mantras quoted in the Āśvalāyana-Grhya-Sūtra* e. g. the Navagraha-mantrāḥ (fol. 136^b) or the Sarvatobhadra-mandaladevatā-mantrāḥ (fol. 185^a) are accompaniments of ritual acts and practices of much later days than those of the Āśvalāyana-Grhya-Sūtra which does not employ such mantras.

The work evidently puts together all the mantras recited at domestic rites which developed at a late date among the adherents of the Āśvalāyana-Śākhā of the Rgveda.

Manuscript A though of a later date than B is far more correctly written than the latter into which a much larger proportion of errors has crept in. A is also more comprehensive than B which does not include a number of verses given in A. A is for the most part evenly written in a large hand while the handwriting is not quite uniform in B (compare for instance fol. 70 with fol. 90 or with fol. 2). B has, however, a much larger number of mantras given with accents (Foll. 1-84 and 101) than those in A (where foll. 1-19 only are marked with accents). The familiar Rgveda method of marking accents is followed in both A and B. Both the manuscripts number the verses in vargas, adhyāyas and aṣṭakas, neither making any account of the hymns nor numbering the single verses. Only in A, the conclusion of a Mandala is marked by words like 'iti Mandalam.'

1st Aṣṭaka

Mandala I : hymns 1 to 11; 12. 1, 6 ; 18. 6, 1 ; (A reads here 'iti prathamodhyāyah'; B "iti prathamāṣtakे prathamodhyāyah" and so on at the end of each Adhyāya). 20. 1 (B gives the first pāda only; generally B signifies the commencement, of a fresh Adhyāya by giving the first pāda only of the very first verse extracted from that adhyāya. This should be taken for granted therefore, unless otherwise stated). 22. 10, 13, 15-21; 23. 16-24; 24. 3, 11 ; 25. 1-10, 19 ; 27. 13 ; 31. 12 (B has the following order 25. 1-10, 19 ; 31. 12 ; 27. 13), end of the 2nd. adhyāya; 33. 1; 35. 2; 36. 13; 35. 11, (B has a different order:-- 33. 1^a; 33. 13; 35. 2, 11); 38. 6; 40. 1; 43. 1-9; 44. 5; 46. 1, (end of the 3rd adhyāya); 47. 1; 48. 11; 50 (complete); 51. 1^a, (end of the fourth adhyāya); 62. 1; 65. 3; 69. 1; 76. 2, (end of the

fifth adhyāya); 81. 1; 82. 2; 83 (complete); 84. 7-9; 86. 1; 89 (complete); 90. 6-8; 91 (complete); 92. 10, 16, (end of the sixth adhyāya); 95. 1; 96 (complete in A, B omits the last i. e. the ninth verse); 97 (complete); 99 (complete); 101. 1; 106. 1-7 (B omits the last two pādas of the 7th verse perhaps because they constitute the refrain of nearly all the hymns from 94 to 115); 110. 1; 112 complete (A omits the refrain "tanno mitro varuno" etc. constituting the last two pādas), end of the seventh adhyāya; 113. 1, 16; 114 and 115 complete hymns; 116. 8; 117. 15; 120. 12, end of the eighth adhyāya and also of the first Aṣṭaka.

2nd Aṣṭaka

Mandala I (continued): 122. 1, 3 [Here A gives (through mistake, I think) 186. 8, although it is repeated below in its proper place]; 125. 1, 6; 133. 5, end of the first adhyāya; 137. 1; 139. 11; 140. 1, 2, 9; 147. 1; 152. 1; 154 to 156 complete hymns; 157. 1 (only the first pāda is given in B while A omits the verse); 158. 6 end of the second adhyāya; 159. 1; 162. 8, 9; 163. 1; 164 (complete); 165. 1 (B gives only the first pāda), 8, end of the third adhyāya; 166. 1; 167. 4; 169. 5; 174. 5, 9; 177. 4; 179. 6, end of the fourth adhyāya; 184. 1 (Both A and B give the first pāda only); 185. 9; 186. 8; 187 (complete); 189. 1-5; 191. 3, 16 [B gives after the last verse of 187. only 191. 16 and then the khila hymn "Mā bibher na" etc, which is the second of the Khailika Sūktas on p. 521 of Müller's *Rgveda-samhitā* (2nd edition, Vol. IV. 1892). It is marked with accents which are not correctly given.

Then follows:— "Kuśumbhakasta (da?) gastyo'ptrnasūryo'nuṣṭup tvamagne gr̥tsamado 'gnir jagatī' (This prose supplement states the Rsi, deity and metre of I. 191, 16 referred to by the pratika 'Kuśumbhakastad' and of II. 1. 1 referred to by the pratika 'tvamagne.')

Mandala II:— I. 1. 2 (only in B), 6; 3. 11. end of the fifth adhyāya; 9. 1^a (only the first pāda both in A and B); 15. 9; 17. 8; 21 (whole hymn in A, but B has only the 6th verse); 23. 1, 15, 19 end of the sixth adhyāya; 24. 1^{abc} (A has the first three pādas a, b and c only; B has the first pāda as usual); 26. 1; 28. 3, 10 (B has the 11th verse in addition); 29 complete; 30. 11; 32. 4 to 8; 33 (complete); 34. 1^a (only in B) 35. 10

end of the seventh adhyāya; 37. 1^a (first pāda only in B as well as A); 39. 2; 40. 1, 2; 41. 16 (B has the 17th and 18th in addition); 42 and 43 complete hymns; here follows in A, the Khila ‘Bhadrami vada’ etc. (No. 3 on p. 522 of Müller’s edition) with the words “*Atha paraśīṣṭam*” at the end of the first verse. This ‘paraśīṣṭam’ may be a corruption for either ‘padaśīṣṭam’ which, as Müller remarks (*loc. cit.*), occurs so frequently in the MSS. instead of ‘Parīśīṣṭam’ or for ‘Parīśīṣṭam’ itself. The occurrence of the words at the end of the first verse suggests that the first verse of the khila was looked upon as part of the immediately preceding hymn II. 43 and that the khila commenced with the second verse. B has only four verses of this khila which are made up as follows:—v. 1; v. 3cd 4^{ab}; v. 4cd 5^{ab}; v. 5cd and II 44. 3.

Mandala III:—1. 1, 5; 6. 7, 8 end of the eighth adhyāya and end of the second Aṣṭaka.

3rd Aṣṭaka

Mandala III (contd.):—7. 1; 8. 2, 4, 11; 26. 6–9 (B has 7–9 only); 29. 10 end of the first adhyāya; 30. 1, 14, 15; 36. 10 end of the second adhyāya; 40. 1, 44 and 45 complete hymns; 49. 1; 51. 1; 53. 6–7 end of the third Adhyāya; 56. 1, 8; 59 complete; 62. 4, 10, 18.

Mandala IV:—1. 1, 4, 5; 3. 1, 14; 4 (complete) end of the fourth adhyāya; 5. 1; 10. 1; 11. 6; 12. 6; 15. 6–10 end of the fifth adhyāya; 19. 1; 27. 1 (not found in B); 29. 1–4; 31. 1–3; 32. 23 end of the sixth adhyāya; 33. 1; 34. 11; 38. 10; 39. 6; 40. 5 (not found in B); 48. 5; 49 complete; 50. 7–9 (in B, A has the 9th verse only) end of the seventh adhyāya; 51. 1, 11; 55. 1; 57 and 58 complete hymns.

Mandala V:—1. 1; 2. 1; 9; 3. 2 (B has the order 3. 2; 2. 1, 9); 4. 5–11 end of the eighth adhyāya and the third Aṣṭaka.

4th Aṣṭaka

Mandala V (contd.):—10. 1; 13. 1; 24 complete; 25. 5, 6 (B omits 6); 31. 8 end of the first adhyāya; 33. 1; 34. 1; 40. 5; 42. 11; 43. 11 (omitted in B); 44. 14, 15 (B omits the 15th verse); here follows the Khila (No. 44, p. 522 Müller) “*Jāgarsi tvam*” etc.; 46. 7, 8 end of the second adhyāya; 47. 1. 7; 51 complete; here follow the Khila (No. 6 p. 523 Müller) “*Svasti*”

yayanaih tärkṣyam" etc; 53. 13, 14 (B has the order: 14, 13); 57. 1, 2; 58. 2 end of the third adhyāya: 64. 1; 75. 7 (omitted in B); 78. 5-9; 82. 1, 3; 83 and 84 complete hymns; here follows the Khila (No. 7, p. 523 Müller) "Varṣantu te vibhāvari" etc; 85. 8; 87. 9.

Mandala VI:— 1. 1; here follows the Khila (No. 8 'Śrīsūktam' p. 523 Müller) "Hiranyavarnāṁ hariṣīm" etc. (A has only one change viz. that verse 26th is placed before the 17th verse whereas B has the order:— 1-23, then 26 and 28 which concludes the hymn) end of the fourth adhyāya. It is to be noted that this Khila is given here after Mandala VI. 1. 1 although as Müller points out (p. 523 footnote 8), it is given at the end of the fifth mandala in the Sainhitā MSS. 3. 1; 6. 1; 7. 1, 2; 14. 6; 15. 2, 16; 16. 10 (B has the order 15. 16; 16. 10; 15. 2) end of the fifth adhyāya; 17. 1; 20. 6; 27. 8; 28 complete; end of the sixth adhyāya; 29. 1; 47. 11, 18, 31 (B omits 18); end of the seventh adhyāya; 48. 1; 50. 11; 52. 15 (omitted in B), 7, 13 (It may be noted here, that VI. 52. 7 is exactly identical with II. 41, 13. The fact that it is given here in the sixth Mandala and not in the second Mandala is just an indication of the rearrangement of the Rg. verses from a ritual point of view); 58. 1; 61 complete, end of the eighth adhyāya and of the 4th Aṣṭaka).

5th Aṣṭaka

Mandala VI (contd.):— 62. 1; 69, 74 and 75 complete hymns;

Mandala VII:— 1. 1 end of the first adhyāya; 2. 1; 14. 1; 15. 13; 17. 1, 2; 19. 6 end of the second adhyāya; 20. 1; here follows only in A, the Khila (No. 13 p. 529, Müller) 'Śamvatīḥ' etc; 35 complete, end of the third adhyāya; 36. 1; 38. 8; 39. 3 (omitted in B); 41. 46 and 49 complete hymns; 50. 4; 54 and 55 complete hymns; here follows the Khila (No. 14 p. 530, Müller) 'Svapnaḥ svapnādhikarane' etc. but only the first 8 verses are given in both the manuscripts as they probably constitute an independent unit (compare Schieftelowitz.)¹ B omits 2cd and 3ab inadvertently, it seems, as 2^b is identical with 3^b; 56. 12; 59. 12, end of the fourth adhyāya; 60. 1 (B like A gives the whole verse. From this point onwards, B discontinues the practice of giving the first pāda only of the first verse extracted from a new

¹ Die Apokryphen Des R̄gveda, pp. 86-87.

adhyāya); 62. 1-3, 63. 1 to 5^{ab} (i. e. the last two pādas of the 5th verse are not given); 66. 14-17 (B adds the 18th verse); 67. 5, end of the fifth adhyāya; 81. 1; 88. 7; 89 complete; 92. 5; 95 and 96 complete hymns, here follows only in A the khila (No. 15 p. 531, Müller) “Yasya vratam paśavo” etc.; 99 complete; 100 complete [except that only the opening words ‘Vasat te’ of the last (i. e. the 7th.) verse are given in A and ‘Vasat te/ Vardhantu tvā’, the opening words of the first and third pādas respectively of the last verse are given in B, probably because that verse is exactly identical with the last verse of the previous hymn 99. 7 which has been given in full] end of the sixth adhyāya; 101 to 103—three complete hymns: here follows the khila (No. 16, p. 531 Müller) ‘Upaplavada Maṇḍūki’ etc. 104 complete.

Mandala VIII:—1. 1; 3. 24; 4. 9; end of the seventh adhyāya; 5. 1; 11 complete, end of the 8th adhyāya and the fifth aṣṭaka.

6th Aṣṭaka

Mandala VIII (contd.) 12. 1 (the whole verse in B but only the first pāda in A); 15. 6 (only in B); 16. 1-8 (omitted in B); 17. 5 end of the first adhyāya; 18. 9; 21. 1 (complete verse in B but only the opening words ‘Vayamutvām’ in A); 25. 21; 26. 21; 31. 4, 5, 11-18 (B has 31. 6-18) end of the second adhyāya; 32. 1 (B has the whole verse but A has the first two words only); 43. 14, 18 (B omits both these verses); 44. complete in A but B has 44. 3, then 33. 19 and then 44. 16, 17, 21; end of the third adhyāya 47. 18 (only in B); 48 (complete); 59. 7; 60 complete in A but omitted altogether in B; 61. 13 to 18 in A (B has 11 to end); 63. 12; 64. 1, 2, end of the fourth adhyāya; 68. 1^{ab} (i. e. the first two pādas only in B but A has only the opening words ‘A tvāratham’; 69. 8; 72. 11; 78. 3 (only in B); 81. complete, end of the fifth adhyāya; 82. 1; 89. 7; 93. 10 (omitted in B); 95. 6-9 end of the sixth adhyāya; 98. 1; 100. 6, 10, 11 [B omits the sixth verse]; 101. 11, 12, 15; 103. 14 [B has “Āgne yāhi” (i. e. the opening words of 103. 14 quoted as the pratīka of that verse) Śobharir āgnimārutam anuṣṭubh (i. e. the Rṣi, deity and metre of that verse) Svādiṣṭha (-ya?) Madhu-Chandāḥ pava-mānah somo gāyatrī (which represent the first word of IX, I. 1 quoted as the pratīka of that verse and the Rṣi, deity and metre of the same verse, respectively)].

Mandala IX:—A has the first 43 complete hymns of this Mandala. The end of the seventh adhyāya is noted at the end of IX. 12 and the end of the 8th Adhyāya and of the 6th Aṣṭaka at the end of IX. 43. B however has IX. 1. 1 (end of the 7th adhyāya) and then in the 8th adhyāya : 13. 41 ; 31. 4 and 74. 4 only.

7th Aṣṭaka

Mandala IX. (contd):—A has all the hymns from 44 to 64 complete which are included in the first adhyāya, [B has 44. 1, 58 complete, only in the first adhyāya] end of the first adhyāya ; B has 65. 1 ; 66. 19-21 ; 67. 26-28. A has all the three hymns from 65 to 67 complete ; [here follows only in A the Khila (No. 17, on p. 531 Müller) "Pāvamāniḥ" etc. with the following variations :—The 12th verse is put after the 14th; and 17cd and 18^{ab} are omitted, inadvertently it appears, because 17cd being almost identical with 18cd the intervening lines have been probably overlooked.]; 75. 4 (in B this verse has been given after 96. 1 as will be seen below) end of the second adhyāya ; 76. 1 (B has the first two pādas only); 83. 1, 2 ; 85. 6 ; 86. 30 end of the third adhyāya ; 91. 1 (B has the first two pādas only); 94. 4 ; 96. 1, 6 ; 5. 14 (B has these same verses in this very order, only it inserts 75. 4 between 96. 1 and 96. 6); 97. 2, 5, 40, 50 end of the fourth adhyāya ; 101. 1, 6 ; 109. 1, 2 ; 112 and 113 complete hymns ; here i. e. after hymn 113th and before the 114th hymn which follows, A has a khila of four verses made up as follows :—The first three verses are the 3rd, 4th and 1st. verses in order, of Müller's Khila No. 19th. on p. 533, followed by the following verse traced neither in Müller's nor in Aufrecht's Khailika Sūktas but only in Scheftelowitz * (p. 99) :—

Yatra Viśpur mahiyate narāṇām narādhipatim !

Yatra Śāṅkhacakragadā smaraṇām muktiśca tatra !!

By writing 'tatra O' only, is indicated the refrain of all the verses in the 113th hymn from the 8th verse onwards).

114 complete (B here has 'Yatra tat paramam' etc. i. e. the first verse of the khila No. 19th on p. 533 Müller).

Mandala X:—1 to 5 all complete hymns, end of the fifth adhyāya ; 6. 1, (B has the first two pādas only); 9 complete,

* Die Apokryphen des R̄gveda. Breslau 1906.

(B inserts ‘āpaśca viśvabhesajḥ’ between the end of the 6th and the beginning of the 7th verse). Next follows both in A and B the khila (No. 20, p. 534 Müller) ‘Sasrusis tadapaso’ etc.; 10. 1^a; 14. 4, 6-11, 13; 16 (all the verses of this hymn are given in A except the 11th and 13th; B has 16. 1-4 and 5^{ab} only); 17. 3-5 (only in A); 18. 1-4, 10-14 (B has only 18. 10-14) end of the sixth adhyāya; 19 complete; 20. 1 : 30 complete (that 7c is followed in A by 8^b appears to be a mere slip as ‘Madhumantam ūrmim’ is the ending of 7c as well as 8^a); 31 complete (only in B); 32 complete; end of the 7th. adhyāya; 33. 1 ; 34. 1 (omitted in B); 35 complete, (not in B); 36 complete (B has 36, 11-14 only); 37 complete; 40. 10, 14; 44. 7; 45 complete (not in B); end of the 8th adhyāya and of the 7th Aṣṭaka.

8th Aṣṭaka

Mandala X. (contd) :- 46. 1 (B has the first two pādas only); 48. 1; 51. 6-9 ; 54. 5 (not in B); 55. 7 ; 57 complete; 58 complete (in B, the 10th verse is put last i. e. after the 12th verse); 59 complete; 60 1, 7, 12 end of the first adhyāya; 62 and 63 complete hymns; 64. 1^a (not found in A); 66. 14, 15; 68. 2 ; 71 complete, end of the second adhyāya; 72. 1 (B has the first pāda only), 5 ; 75 complete [between the 5th and 6th verses of this hymn, occurs the Khila (No. 21, p. 534 Müller) sitāsite’ etc.]: 81 to 85 all complete hymns; here follows the khila (No. 22, p. 534 Müller) ‘avidhvā bhava’ etc. end of the third adhyāya; 86, 87, 88 and 90 all complete hymns; 94. 6-10 (B has 7-10 only), end of the fourth adhyāya; 95. 6, 7, 10, 12^{cd} 13^{ab}; 96 complete; 97. 1, 5, 20 22, 15 ; 98. 101. 103. all complete hymns, here follows the khila (No. 23, p. 534 Müller) ‘asau yā senā’ etc, end of the fifth adhyāya; 106. 1, 11 ; 107. 2, 7, 9-11; 109 complete; 110. 11; 112. 6, 9; 114. 3-5; 116. 2, 8; 117, 118 and 119 all three complete hymns, end of the sixth adhyāya; 120. 1; 121 complete; 124. 1-5; 125, 126 and 127 all three complete hymns; [here follows the khila (No. 25 p. 535 Müller) “ā ratri pārthivāṁ rajah” etc. with the following variations:— A omits v. 9^{cd} and 10^{ab} inadvertently, it appears owing to the similarity of 9^{ab} to 10^{ab}: B has a substantially different version; as compared with Müller’s khila No. 25; it has verses 1-4, then the 9th and 10th verses and then the following verses which are given here in full as they are not traced either to Müller or to Aufrecht or to Scheftelowitz* :—

* Die Apokryphen des Rgveda. Breslau 1906.

Kṣīreṇa snapitā durgā candanenānulepitā ।
 Bailvapatrakṛtā mālā namo durge namo namah ॥
 Sarva-bhūta-piśācebhyaḥ sarva-sarpa-sarisrpaiḥ ।
 Devebhyo mānu(se?)bhyaścobhayebhyo nābhiraṅkṣatām ॥8॥
 Khila ॥
 Rgvede stutayā devī kaśyapena udāhṛtā ।
 Jātavedaprabhā gaurī Jātavedase sunavāma somam ॥
 Surāsurair dvijavaraiḥ piśācāsura-rāksasaiḥ ।
 Arāti-bhayam utpannam arātlyato nidahāni vedah ॥
 Rājadvāre pathe ghore saṁgrāmeṣu ca gautami ।
 Sarvam rakṣatu duritam sa nah parṣad ati durgāni viśvā ॥
 Mahadbhaye samutpanne smaranti ca japanti ca ।
 Sarvam tārayate durgā nāveva sindhum duritātyagnih ॥
 Paramām stava (?) durgāyāḥ pathanti ca śrūṇoti ca ।
 Triṣu lokeṣu vikhyātam triṣu lokeṣu pūjītam ॥
 Aputro labhate putrān dhanahino dhana(m?) labheta ।
 Acakṣur labhate cakṣur, baddho mucyeta bandhanāt ॥
 Vyādhito mucyate rogād arogī śriyam āpnuyāt ।

Sarvakāmamitvam (!) dadāti nārāyaṇi namo'stu te kātyāyanī
 namo stu te ॥ here follows the 13th verse (of Müller's) khila
 as the last verse], 128 complete, here follow the two khilas [Nos. 26 (consisting of a single verse) and 27, pp. 536-7, Müller]
 beginning respectively with " arvāñcam indram " etc. and " āyu-
 syam " etc. one after another, 129, 130, 136 and 137 all four
 complete hymns ; 141. 1, 3. B has now the Khila (No. 28 p. 537-8
 Müller) beginning with ' himasy tvā ' with the following
 variations and additions :— At the end of the 8th. verse, B has
 the following verse :—

Eka-śaphair hastinor deśena tvām vipulena ।
 Pṛthivī tvam bhuñjaty ekachatreṇa dandena ॥

then follow verses 9th and 10th of Müller and then the following
 verse is added :

Āyate (or ne ?) te parāyaṇe dūrvām rohantu puṣpiṇīḥ ।
 Rhadaśca pūḍārīkāṇi samudrasya gṛhā ime ॥
 end of the seventh adhyāya ;

143. 1, 151 complete ; here follows the khila (No. 29, the ' Med-
 hāśūktam ' p. 539 Müller) beginning with ' Medhām mahyam ',
 152. 2 (not found in A); 154 complete (A omits the 4th verse,
 inadvertently I think, as " tāñścid-evāpi gacchatāt " is the identi-

cal ending of the 3rd and 5th verses!); 158, 161, 162 and 163 all four complete hymns; 164. 5 ; 165 and 166 both complete hymns, here follows in both the MSS A and B, a passage of seven verses beginning with 'Yaj jāgrato dūram' the first six of which are identical with VS. 34. 1-6 constituting a hymn regarded as an Upaniṣad called the 'Śiva-samkalpam'. The seventh verse is identical with Rv. VII. 59. 12 and is probably tacked on to these six verses because of the word 'tryambakam' which, in later mythology was an epithet of god Śiva ! The problem here is why the ĀMS. which gives only verses in the Rgveda-saṁhitā and the Khila hymns should include seven verses, six of which are traced only to VS. 34, 1-6 (Bloomfield's Concordance p. 732)! The solution is provided by the Brhad-devatā VIII. 69^{cd} which reads :— 'Rsabham mā' sapatnaghnam, 'yenedam' iti mānasam" It says "The hymn 'Rsabham mā' (i. e. Rv. X. 166) is destructive of rivals and the hymn beginning with 'Yenedam' is addressed to the mind ". This means that Brhad-devatā knew the khila coming after X. 166, the opening verse of which commenced with 'yenedam' and is the same as the fourth verse of our group of the first six verses. Prof. Macdonell gives us the following information about this khila (HOS vol. 6, Brhad-devatā p. 312) "This is a khila of thirteen stanzas which precedes Rv. X. 167 and which begins 'Yenedam bhūtam bhuvanam bhavisyat'.....The first six stanzas are identical with VS. 36. 1-6 *except that the first and fourth appear in inverted order in the VS.....From the reputed author, the khila is called 'Śiva-samkalpam' and "regarded an Upanisad."*" The ĀMS. then has extracted these seven verses from a Rgveda khila known to the Brhad-devatā and also to the Rgvidhāna (4, 20. 3-4). The Anukramani knows it by the name 'Śivasamkalpa.' The entire khila of thirteen verses is given on pp. 127-128 of 'Die Apokryphen des Rgveda' by Dr. phil J. Scheftelowitz (Breslau, 1906). In our version, an important variation is that Rv. VII. 59. 12 is tacked on to the first six vesres as the seventh !

167. 4; 168, 169, 170, 173, 183, 184, all seven complete hymns, here follows the khila (No 30, p. 540 Müller) beginning with 'Nejamesa parā pata'; 185 and 186 complete hymns; B alone has now the hymn 187 complete with a change of order viz. 187, 1, 2, 3, 5, 4. Here follows only in B the khila (No. 31, p. 540, Müller) beginning with 'Anikavantam ūtaye.' Finally come 188, 189, 190, 191 all four complete hymns.

THE SCRIPT OF MOHENJO DARO AND
EASTER ISLAND
BY
N. M. BILLIMORIA

Rapa Nui are called Easter Islands because their discovery fell upon Easter Day, 1721. They are 2600 miles from Valraiso; 1400 from Pitcairn Islands and 2750 from Tahiti. They belong to the Government of Chile.

Easter Island, the remotest part of Chilean territory has been linked with the main land by means of a powerful wireless station, and the authorities on the land have already communicated with Antogafasta and other stations.

In the past, Easter Island which is leased to a Scotch firm for cattle raising has relied on the yearly visit of a steamer chartered by the firm for its contact with the outside world. It is also occasionally visited by Chilian warships.

The Chilian Government has recently renewed the lease of the Island to the British firm.

The first white men who landed on Rapa Nui were the Dutch Capt. Roggewein in 1721; as they discovered it on Easter Day, it now bears the name of Easter Island. After some years Captain Cook visited it who informed the western world about the remarkable monolith statues and stone buildings found there. The tablets had escaped their notice. It was in 1864 that Eugene Eyraud, lay brother of the congregation of the Sacred Heart of Piepus first discovered their existence. The first tablets to leave the island were probably two discovered by Father Zumbohm, and sent by him to Bishop Jaussen, of Axieri, Vicar Apostolic of Tahiti to whom five other examples were entrusted in 1868. In the same year H. M. S. Topaz passed some time in the Easter Island, and carried away two large monolithic statues, which are now in the British Museum. In 1870, Chilian Corvette O'Higgins under Capt. Gana touched the Island, to this Captain two tablets were entrusted; they are in the Museum

of Santiago in Chile; a third was sent to Paris, but it never reached its destination. In 1882 Capt. Geiseler of the Imperial German Navy visited the island on the gunboat Hyaena, but they failed to obtain any tablets, though two were reported in the possession of Natives. Perhaps these are the very tablets procured by the officers of the Mihican, United States Navy. At a time before 1876 two tablets were procured by a Russian vessel and they are in St. Petersburg.

So we find there are about 15 tablets preserved; seven are said to be in Tahiti, two at Santiago, two at Washington, two at St. Petersburg, one in the British Museum and one at Berlin; this latter is a large one, but not a good specimen.

The tablets are made of hard mimosa; some of them are as long as 14 inches; the script was executed with a point of obsidian; tablets are often channelled with broad parallel grooves, within which the inscriptions are cut, the object being to preserve the characters being spoilt by rubbing. The writings can be read from right to left, it was boustrophedon, manner of writing alternately from right to left, and from left to right, or as the French Dictionary gives "maniere d'écrire alternativement de droite à gauche, et de gauche à droite sans discontinue la ligne."

Although the Polynesians were able to represent human, animal and natural forms, remarkably conventionalized, nowhere except in the Easter Island, the extreme outpost of the race, do we find anything approaching a regular system of writing.

Often we find Chiefs attesting treaties with Europeans by making their marks; but in one of the recorded instances the Maories used signs resembling their tattooing, and quite different from those here in question, in the other, the native contracting parties were themselves chiefs of Rapa Nui. A voyage was undertaken in 1770 by Capt. Gonzalez with two war ships. On the 15th November they took possession of the island on behalf of King Carlos III, and the island was named Carlos instead of David, as it was formerly called. On that occasion, after the deed of possession had been signed by the expeditioners, they invited the Caciques to do the same, as an act of donation to the

king of Spain. J. Park Harison in the Journal of The Anthropological Institute, Vol. III, 1873 writes :

The signatures of the Chiefs of Easter Island to the treaty made with the Spaniards in 1770 having been accurately traced by Senor De la Rosa from the original characters in the Ms. in his possession, it has been thought desirable to print them for the purpose of comparison with the hieroglyphics on the tablets. From the extreme rarity of anything approaching to writing in the Pacific a singular interest attaches to them.

The Symbol to the right is assumed to be the signature of the King of the Island. It stands by itself and appears to represent one of the figures—half men and half birds—which it has been supposed to symbolise the chiefs.

(For Facsimiles of signatures of Chiefs of Easter Island. 1770 see the photo facing this page).

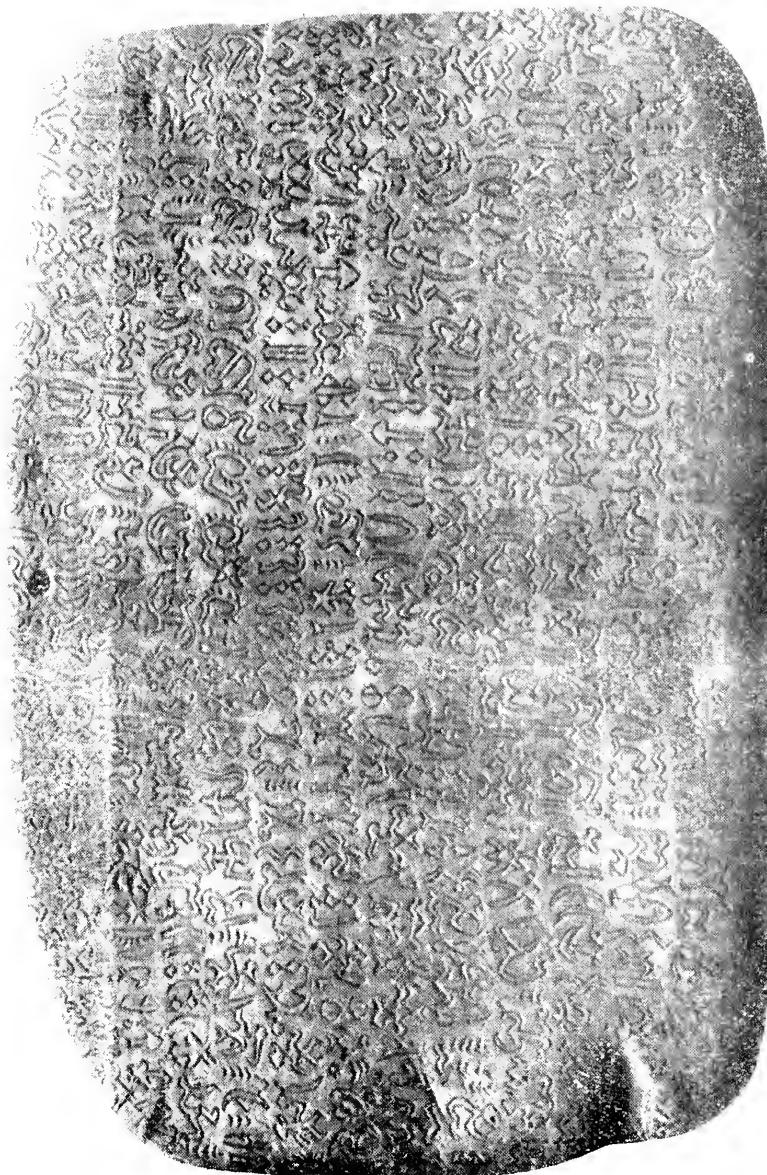
The characters in the second or middle column may perhaps form the name of a chief next in rank; or possibly a priest. There are four signs in this column, of which the third from the top is similar to some in the tablets. The third column from the right contains eight characters. They probably, form a single name. It was suggested that this might possibly also be the case with some of the groups of signs on the reverse side of the tablet (plate 21).

Senor De La Rosa agrees in thinking that the characters, generally, indicate a more perfect system of writing than the incised signs. They are not unlike some that he has met with in Central America. It will be observed that the signatures are written vertically.

Park Harrison in the Journal, quoted above, working from casts of specimens in Santiago identifies in figures of men with albatrosses heads the Herronia or mythical being of native legend, and can point to turtles and lobsters as clubs and ceremonial paddles; he detects combats of men and animals, recognises dog faces and negrito heads, and in a recurring sequence of human figures sees a genealogy of island chiefs whose forefathers may have lived thousands of miles away in the west.



Faesimiles of signature of Chiefs of Easter Island, 1770.



One of the "Speaking Wood" "bois parlants" of the Easter Island; tablet called MAMARI; preserved by Piepus Brothers at Braine-le-Comte. One can see certain number of common signs.

Dr. A. Carroll in the journal of the Polynesian Society, 1892, declares that the language of the hieroglyphs is not Polynesian, but came from the American continent, and that among the inscriptions can be traced words and phrases from the Toltec, Quiché, Muiscan, and many other tongues, proving the mixed blood of the peoples who came over to Easter Island more than 500 years ago. On the tablets are to be found relations of events which happened from about A. D. 600 onwards over a wide region of the earth's surface, and there is mention of persons, places, and circumstances alluded to by Spanish writers. Dr. Carroll asserts that when his grammar and vocabulary are published, everyone who wishes to read these important historical and mythological inscriptions will be able to do so without difficulty. Meanwhile, as an earnest of what is to come, he publishes three translations in the form of prayers one by a woman for offspring, and two of a more general character for health and successful harvest.

Bishop Claesens of Batavia, to whom casts or rubbings of Easter Island tablets were sent, declared that almost identical signs are carved upon rocks in Celebes; and Bishop Jaussen is convinced that they came into the East Pacific from this part of the world. The natives usually trace their proximate descent from Oparo whence the pioneer Hotu Matua came in a canoe bringing 67 tablets with him.

Captain Geiseler has also a few remarks to make upon the interpretation of the character. He describes some of the signs carved in relief on the rocks on the south-west face of Rana Kao, and identifies some of these (a bird-like figure which frequently occurs on the tablets) with the god Make-Make. The conjunction of this sign with another representing the female vulva is, he says, held to signify a birth; and figures of men fishing to mark the seasons of the year at which certain fish were caught. He believes that the language is not that of a vanished people but that of the existing inhabitants of the island.

It seems that the tablets had some ceremonial significance and only chiefs and priests are said to have been taught to read them. The natives related that they were brought together at certain seasons and their contents publicly recited. The object

of such assemblies may be to promote by ceremonial means the increase of the crops and the abundance of the fish on which the islanders largely depended for their food.

Mr. Dalton concludes his paper (MAN, 1904, Vol. IV) with the following remarks :

"The very remoteness of the island may have contributed, before the period of decadence set in, both to the peculiarity and the excellence of the monuments. Exceptional though it is, this beneficent influence of isolation is not unprecedented. Those parts of prehistoric Europe which, like Eastern Hungary and Scandinavia, were never in the main stream of traffic and intercourse, were left at leisure to develope a bronze civilization infinitely superior to that of their less isolated neighbours. This superiority we explain by the operation of normal causes without invoking the *deus ex machina* of an alien teacher. May not the course of events have been somewhat similar in this far corner of the Pacific Ocean?"

It is worth while to photograph all the available tablets to note the comparative frequency with which certain signs or groups of signs occur upon them, to compare them with the signs on seals found at Mohenjo Daro. Not a few, but hundreds of signs are similar.

The photographs of two tablets Nos. XX & XXI are taken from the Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain & Ireland Vol. III where a paper by J. Park Harrison on "The Hieroglyphics of Easter Island" is published. The wood of which the tablets are formed is that of *Edwardsia*, a species of *Mimosa*, which in Chile attains a considerable size and from seeds obtained from Easter Island it was found that the tree exists there also. The two tablets are not of the same size; the smaller and more perfect one is 14 inches in length; 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ to 5 in breadth, and one inch thick. The second and larger tablet is 18 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches long; 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ to 5 inches wide, and varies from half an inch thick. On the smaller tablet eight lines of signs are engraved; and 12 lines on the longer; the signs are incised and sunk in channels so that impressions from them cannot be made; hence they are not stamps; the writings are *Boustrophedon*; hence Harrison proposes to read thus; "to save the trouble of turning

the tablet at the end of every line to read the third from the bottom after the first line and so taking every alternate line up to the seventh, then turn the tablet once for all, and read the 2nd, 4th, 6th and 8th from the top in a similar way".

Harrison describes the figures one by one; I will copy out only a few. "Separated from this group by a column, with three circles on each side there is a figure also with enlarged ears, armed with a club, of a form altogether different from any in Easter Island, but common in Fiji, and the Samoa-group. He is represented as running to attack a snake with a wide head and a knob or knot at the end of its tail, very much as serpents are sometimes shown on ancient monuments. It appears to be the Enigrus.....which is found in Fiji and some other islands of the West Pacific, though not a water snake.

"The large one holds in its hands two clubs or sceptres; the arms of the other are hanging down. They appear to be idols (but may be figures representing chiefs); in either case they are altogether unlike anything in the Pacific. I have an indistinct recollection of having met them in connection with some people in the East."

As regards the meaning of the iconographic signs and pictures, they represent forms of life as well as weapons and incidents (some apparently religious) which belong to islands many thousands miles to the west. In Easter Island it is well ascertained that the only quadruped is a rat, and the only land bird a domestic fowl; and the natives have certainly neither dog-faces nor negrito like heads.



In the Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institute for the year ending June 30, 1889, Paymaster William J. Thomson, U. S. Navy has published a paper on "Te Pito Te Henua, or Easter Island," pp. 449-552, with numerous plates; the following are the plates of the tablets found at Easter Island:

1. Obverse & reverse of Easter Island Tablet "Apai" (original in possession of Bishop of Axieri).
2. Do. Do. "Atua Matariri." (Cat. No. 129773, U. S. N. M. Easter Is. Collected and deposited by Paymaster W. J. Thomson, U. S. N.).
3. Do. Do. of Easter Island wooden tablet "Eaha To Ran Ariki Kete" (Cat. No. 129774 Do. Do.).
4. Do. Do. of wooden tablet from Easter Island "Ka IHI Uiga" (From photograph presented by George Davidson to the California Academy of Sciences).
5. Do. Do. Do. "Ate-A-Renga-Hokan Iit Poheraa" (original in possession of Bishop of Axieri. From photograph by Paymaster W. J. Thomson, U.S.N.).
6. Do. Do. (From a cast lent by Parke, Davis & Co.).
7. Do. Do. obtained by Chilian Corvette "O'Higgins" (original in Santiago Museum, Chili).
8. Do. Do. Do. (original in Santiago Museum, Chili).

Paymaster Thomson has given English translation of several of these tablets :

English translation of Apai tradition (No. 1, above).

Mohouakuta, the chief of a powerful clan, when about to make war to revenge the death of one of his relatives, who had been killed by treachery, summoned Timo, the builder of fowl-houses, and ordered him to construct on the windward side of the house of Techos, fisherman, a fowl-house of one hundred crescent shaped stakes. It was ordered that of the fowls captured in the war those with long tail-feathers and the white ones, should be reserved and sent to this house for safe-keeping.

The warriors of the clan assembled promptly at the council-fire with their faces brilliantly painted and wearing their distinctive shell necklaces.

The solemn ceremonies, attendant upon the declaration of war, were performed by the assembled braves, in accordance with the ancient customs handed down by their forefathers. Obeisance was first made to the sky, each warrior repeating the

prayer "may we be killed in battle if we neglect to worship the Great Spirit." The ceremonies concluded with obeisance to the god of feathers, each warrior wearing the feather-hat of his clan—Era Nuku, the god of feathers, whose costume consists of feathers for the head, feathers for the neck, and feathers to be waved by the wind. He who brings good luck when feathers are worn that are tied by a string of hairs. He who protects the yams and potato plantations when feathers tied upon a stick, and placed close together between the hill. He who keeps off the evil spirit when feathers are planted over the burial-places.

The god of feathers, whose wife is Manana. Manana Take came from the skies. She once visited the land in the shape of a fish, which was captured and given to the king on account of its size and beauty. Recognizing the divine nature of the fish, the king was thereafter debarred from swimming in the sea.

(The next hieroglyphics on the tablet are supposed to have been written in some ancient language, the key to which has long ago been lost—After the unknown section the translation is continued as follows)

When the island was first created and become known to our forefathers, the land was crossed with roads beautifully paved with flat stones. The stones were laid close together so artistically that no rough edges were exposed. Coffee-trees were growing close together along the borders of the road, that met overhead, and the branches were laced together like muscles. Heke was the builder of these roads, and it was he, who sat in the place of honour in the middle where the roads branched away in every direction. These roads were cunningly contrived to represent the plan of the web of the gray and black-pointed spider and no man could discover the beginning or the end thereof.

(Here again are some sections of the tablet written in the characters that are not understood, after which the following translation is made)

In that happy land that beautiful land where Romaha formerly lived with his beloved Hangaroa, and where Turaki used to listen to the voice of the fowl, and feed them with

watery food. In that beautiful land that was governed by gods from heaven, and who lived in the water when it was cold. Where the black and white-pointed spider would have mounted to heaven, but was prevented by the bitterness of the cold.

Where is our ancient Queen? It is known that she was transformed into a fish that was finally caught in the still waters. A fish that had to be tied by the rope of Heros to be captured. Away, away, if you cannot name the fish. The lovely fish with the short gills that was brought for food to our Great King, and was laid upon a dish that rocked this way and that. The same that afterwards formed the corner of the stone walk that led to the house of the Great Chief.

Translation of the Easter Island Tablets

Atua Matariri (No. 2)

Easter Island Tradition

The origin of the inanimate things is believed to be the result of the marriage of certain gods and goddesses in accordance with the following table :

- God Atua Matariri and goddess Taporo produced thistle.
- God Ahimahima Marao and goddess Takihi Tupufema produced rocks.
- God Aoevai and goddess Kava Kohekoe produced medicine.
- God Matua anua and goddess Kappipiri Aitau produced the Miro tree.
- God Augingieai and goddess Kia Humutoti produce the paper-mulberry tree.
- God Hiti and goddess Kia heta produced the teaplant.
- God Atura and goddess Katei produced bunch grass.
- God Ahen and goddess Vaua produced fine grass.
- God Agekai and goddess Hepeue produced obsidian.
- God Viri Koue and goddess Atiugarehe Uruharero produced the morning glory plant,
- and so on.....

Translation of tablet No. 3.

Easter Island Anthem

What power has the Great King on the land ?

He has power to make the plants grow and to change the sky to different colours.

All hail the power of the Great King who makes us lenient to the young plants to admire the skies of different colours and to behold the clouds that rise.

What power has the great king on the land ?

He has the power to create the lobsters, white bait, eels, ape-fish and everything in the sea.

All hail the power of the Great King who gives us the knowledge of how to catch the lobsters, white bait, eels, ape-fish, and all marine animals.

and so on.....

Father mourning the loss of his child (No. 4)

This is an old song supposed to have descended from the time the first inhabitants arrived on the island. The father is believed to mourn for his child left in that eastern land, from which tradition states the people migrated.

English Translation

The sail of my daughter,

Never broken by the force of foreign clans !!

The sail of my daughter,

Unbroken by the conspiracy of Honiti

Ever victorious in all her fights

She could not be enticed to drink poison waters

In the cup of obsidian glass.

Can my sorrow ever be appeased

While we are divided by the mighty seas ?

Oh my daughter, oh my daughter,

It is a vast and watery road

Over which I look toward the horizon,

My daughter, oh my daughter.

I will swim over the deep to meet you,

My daughter, oh my daughter.

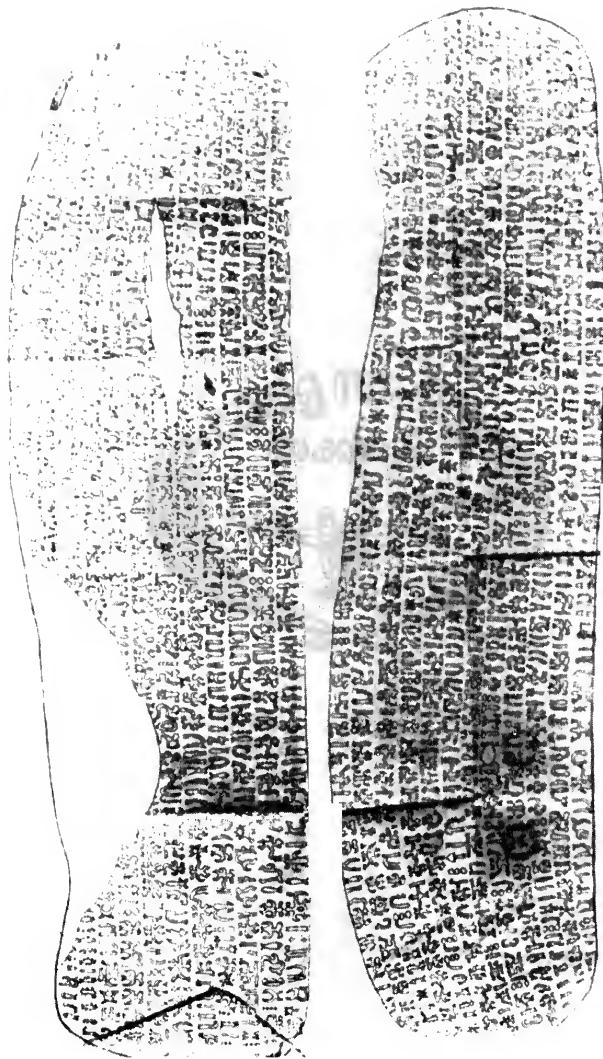
English Translation. Native Love Song (Plate No. 5)

Who is sorrowing ? It is Renga-a manu Hakopa.
 A red branch descended from her father.
 Open thy eyelids, my true love.
 Where is your brother, my love ?
 At the feast in the Bay of Salutation
 We will meet under the feathers of your clan.
 She has long been yearning after you.
 Send your brother as a mediator of love between us,
 Your brother who is now at the house of my father.
 O, where is the messenger of love between us ?
 When the feast of drift-wood is commemorated.
 There we will meet in loving embrace.

The writer has given a genealogy of the Kings of the Easter Island, also a vocabulary. He adds that the natives of Easter Is. speak a dialect of the Malayo-Polynesian language, which is so widely spread in the South Sea and Malay Archipelago. Any one who will take the trouble to compare the accompanying vocabulary with the same words used by the natives of New Zealand, Tahiti, Rorotonga, Samoa, and any of the islands of Polynesia, will see that many of the words are identically the same, and others show a slight variation.

Professor S. Langdon of Oxford in the Introduction of G. R. Hunter's "The script of Harappa and Mohenjo Daro and its connection with other scripts" writes : There can be no doubt concerning the identity of the Indus and Easter Island scripts. Whether we are thus confronted by an astonishing historical accident or whether this ancient Indian script has mysteriously travelled in the remote islands of the Pacific none can say. The age of the Easter Island tablets made of wood is totally unknown, and all knowledge of their writing has been lost. This same script has been found on seals precisely similar to the Indian seals in various parts of ancient Sumer, at Susa and the border land east of the Tigris.

In the Journal of the Polynesian Society, Vol. 48, No. I, Sr. J. Imbelloni of the Argentine Museum of National History in his paper on "The Easter Island Script and the Middle-Indus seals" writes "In the manuscript letter signed by Professor Hunter

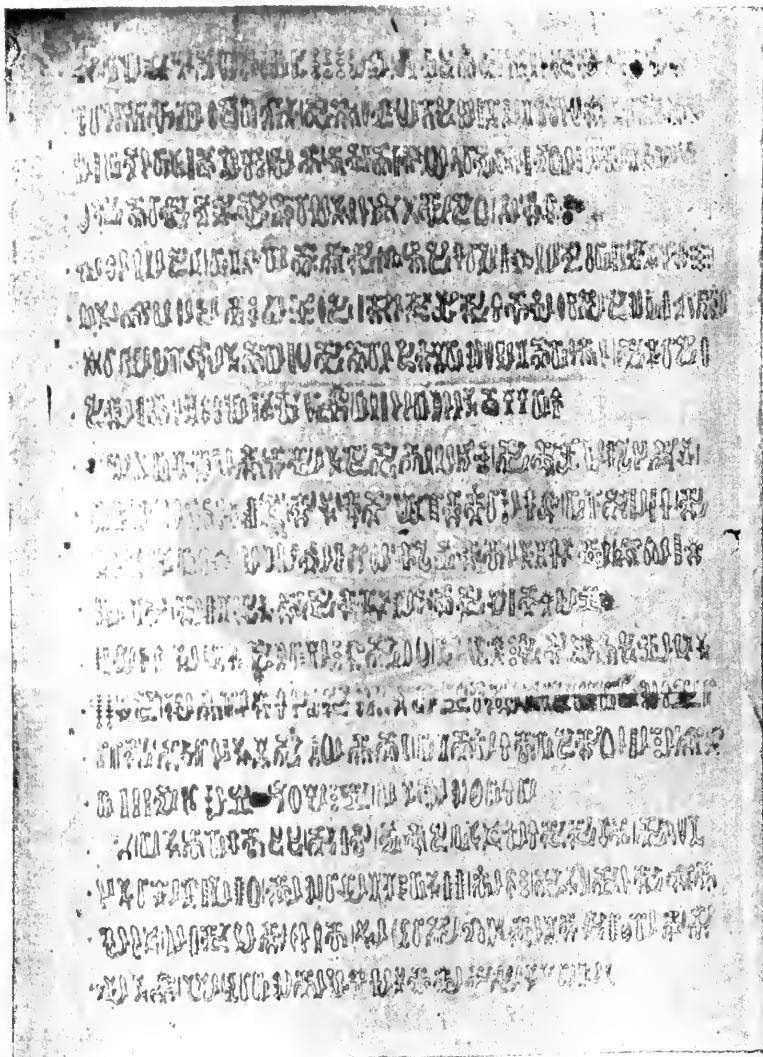


11)hotograph of the script on the tablet in the Museum of Santiago, Chili.



Incised Tablet from Easter Island. Front.





Photograph of the script on the tablet in the Museum of Santiago, Chili.



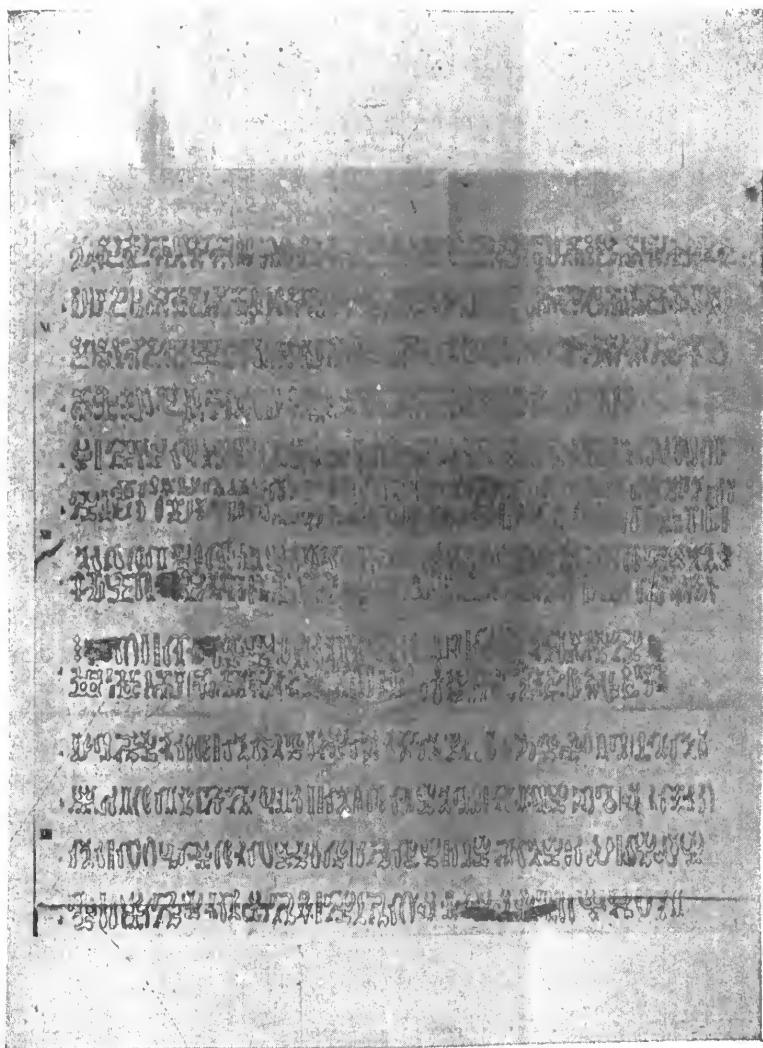
Lines of the Santiago tablet enlarged to show the great variety of forms Makemake character takes and the large place it fills in the script. Out of 110 characters here there are 68 which are forms Makemake. Most of the others are sea creatures of features separated from the Nakemake character.



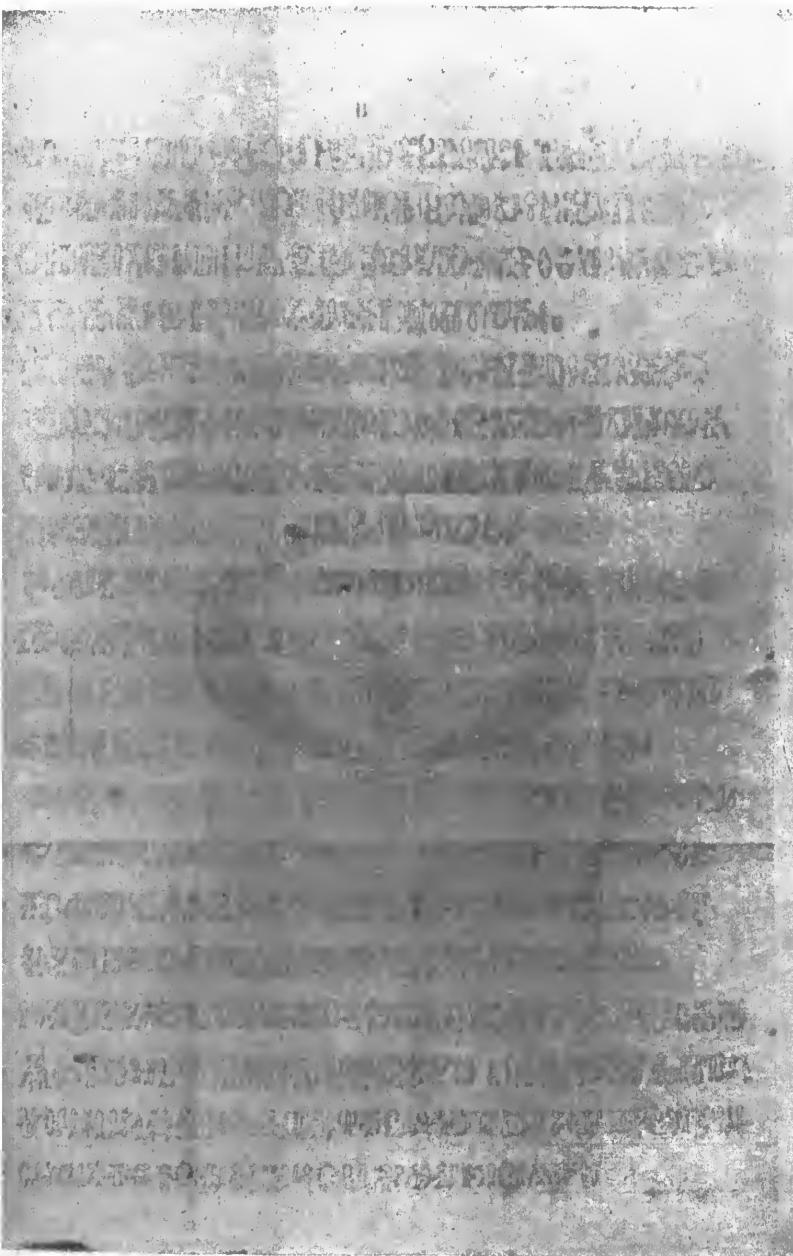
Tablet from the Easter Island in the British Museum.



Mohenjo Daro Seals.



Photograph of the script on the tablet in the Museum of Santiago, Chile



Photograph of the script on the tablet in the Museum of Santiago, Chili.

Signs of Indus writing compared with those of Easter Island; in each of the four rows, the signs of the Indus are on the left; those on the Easter Island are on the right.

★	★	R	R	X	X	人	人
人	L	H	H))	卐	卐
○	○	非	非))	山	山
○	○	丰	丰	((三	三
~	~	T	T	~~~~~	~~~~~	叉	叉
△	△	卯	卯	OO	OO	○	○
○	○	八	八	○○	○○	○	○
F	F	匚	匚	↓	↓	○	○
※	※	×	×	○○	○○)()(
♠	♠	ヰ	ヰ	○	○	()	()
▲	▲	○	○	H	H	+	+
△	△	○	○	X	X	S	S
※	※))	K	K	❀	❀

Signs of Indus writing compared with those of Easter Island; in each of the four rows, the signs of the Indus are on the left, those on the Easter Island are on the right.

and addressed to M. de Hevesy, of which I possess a photographic copy, he says that having carefully re-examined the list of symbols re-produced by the latter "I have verified that in every case in which you have taken the symbols of my work, you have re-produced them *with scrupulous and indeed remarkable exactitude.*" (Italic words are in English in the original).

Bibliography of the tablets of Easter Island

1866. *Globus*, (published at Brunswick). Vol. XIII, p. 113 (short account of Eyraud's nine month's stay in the island); contains the statements that there were tablets in almost every house.

1870. *Obid.* Vol. XVII, p. 248. (Palmer's account of visit of H. M. S. *Topaze*).

1870. *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft fur Erdkunde*, Berlin, p. 469. (Letter of Dr. Phillipi to Professor Bastian mentioning the tablets, and the report of Captain Gana, commander of the O'Higgins, the Chilian vessel which the island in 1870).

1871. *Ibid.* pp. 548-551. (Meinicke *Die Holztafeln von Rapuni*). The writer protests against any theory of American influence, and rejects the view that the script was due to a now extinct race. He believes the inscriptions to represent genealogies).

1872. *Ibid.* Vol. VII. pp. 78-81. (Miklugo Maclay, *Uber die Rohaurago oder die Holztafeln von. Rapanni*). Draws attention to the similarity of characters on the tablets to designs carved on stone statues &c. The article is followed by remarks by Professor Bastian (pp. 81-9) who suggests that the subjects of the inscriptions are not merely genealogies and may be ceremonial recitations for use at particular feasts.

1872. *Revue Maritime*. Vol. 35, pp. 195ff. *L'Île de Paques*. (short official report by Admiral de Lapelin to the Minister of Marine mentioning visit of the Flore of the French Pacific squadron to Easter Island in 1872. This is followed by a translation of the report of Captain Gana of the Chilian vessel O'Higgins. The translator's notes on p. 121 relate to the tablets and give facts in support of their comparatively recent origin).

1873. *Iswestia* (proceedings of the Russian Geographical Society. Vol. VIII, p. 42) (Article by Miklugo Maclay).

1873. Compte-rendue de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres pp. 151-155. (A. de Longperier discusses casts of inscriptions in the collection of the Bishop of Axicri).

1876. Zeitschrift fur Ethnologie, Vol. VIII, p. 37ff. (Philippi Über die Hieroglyphen der Osterinsel &c.: mentions the receipt at Santiago Museum of a third example of the script in addition to the original two tablets, casts of which had been sent to Europe).

1878. Le tour du Monde. (Article by Pinart, who reproduces one of the Santiago casts: the same writer in Bulletin de la Societe de Geographie, Vol. XVI (1878) p. 203 notices figures carved relief upon stone buildings).

1881. A. B. Meyer. Die Bilderschriften des Ostindischen Archipels und der Sudsee (publication of the Royal Ethnographical Museum at Dresden, printed at Leipzig), p. 7, plate vi. The inscription of a tablet is reproduced and the plates giving examples of picture-writing from Pelew, Celebes, &c. are interesting for purposes of contrast and comparison.

1881. Globus, Vol. XL, p. 375 (Notice by Andree of the preceding work by Meyer).

1883. A. Bastian, Zur Naturwissenschaftlichen Behandlungsweise der Psychologie, Berlin, pp. 212ff. with plate reproducing the example in the Museum fur Volkerkunde, Berlin.

1883. Ymer (Stockholm) Vol. III, pp. 182ff. (H. Stolpe, part of his action on Pask-on, or Easter Island. This interesting paper is unfortunately written in Swedish, and is therefore accessible to a comparatively small number of students. It may be mentioned that the same author has treated the tattooing of the Easter Islanders in the Abhandlungen of the Dresden Zoological and Anthropological Museum, Festschrift, 1899, No. 6).

1886. Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien, pp. 97ff. plate x. (M. Haberlandt, der Schriftafeln von der Osterinsel. Discusses the relation of the tablets to genealogy. They are probably not of high antiquity, and are more important from the point of view of psychology than history).

1889. The American Naturalist, Vol. XXIII, p. 882 (W. Hough mentions the tablets in an article on the visit of the Mohican).

1893. Bulletin de Géographie historique et descriptive (Comité des travaux des travaux, historiques et scientifiques, Année 1892) Paris, 1893, pp. 240-270, (Bishop Jaussen's posthumous memoir, L'Île de Paques, edited by the R. P. Ildefonse Alazard and containing the vocabularies. See Man 1904, p. 2).

1895. Le Museon, Revue Internationale, published at Louvain, Vol. XIV, p. 415ff. and Vol. XV, pp. 68-73. (C. de Harlez reproduction of the inscription from a tablet with the translation given by Metoro to Bishop Jaussen. De Harlez declares it to be une suite d'images indépendantes l'une de l'autre, and not a continuous narrative at all. Cf. Man, 1904, p. 4).

1899. Comptes-rendus de la Société de Géographie, Paris pp. 169-176 (Captain Vere Barclay's R. N. account of visit of H. M. S. Topaze on p. 175 Captain Barclay says that the characters on the tablets are not the same as those on the statues &c. He believes in a connection with S. America and suspects Maya influence.

1904. Man, 1904, Vol. IV. On an inscribed wooden tablet from Easter Island (Rapa Nui) in the British Museum. by O. M. Dalton, M.A., F.S.A., pp. 1-7, with a plate.

1873. Journal of the Anthropological So. of Gr. Br. & Ir. Vol. III, 1873. The Hieroglyphics of Easter Island by J. Park Harrison, with two plates.

1889. Smithsonian Institution, Annual Report, year ending June 30 by Paymaster W. J. Thomson, U. S. N. pp. 447ff. numerous plates.

NEW LINES OF INVESTIGATION IN INDIAN LINGUISTICS

BY

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It was not without a great deal of hesitation that I accepted the kind invitation of our energetic Secretary in this new feature of the Institute's activities, but two reasons have prevailed upon me to cooperate with him, viz., the Institute itself and the learned audience which forms part of it at such functions. I consider this as a small offering to the memory of the great scholar whose magnificent portrait presides over this hall. It is exactly 63 years since the great Bhandarkar inaugurated the Wilson Philological Lectures by his first lecturership, paving incidentally the highway to Indian Linguistics, and whatever little that has been achieved in our country in this subject is due in a large measure to the genius and greatness of Sir Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar. Secondly so few are the scholars actively engaged in investigations in Indian linguistics that I am tempted to place before such a critical audience as I find here some of the lines which may profitably be undertaken in the light of my own experience with allied subjects. If it is usual at these functions to speak of the results of one's own investigations in any particular problem, I have to plead guilty to a slight departure from that custom, for the results of my personal investigations are published elsewhere, and it will be of no particular importance here. From experience I find that it is the lack of subjects for investigation which often hinders a researcher in the beginning and as the number of investigators in this field, as in other branches of Indology, is limited, I offer no excuse for addressing you today on some new lines of investigation in Indian Linguistics.

Before proceeding to the subject of new lines of investigation within the Indian domain I should like to deal in a short compass with the recent tendencies within the larger Indo-European field. The work of Benveniste in France and Kurylowicz in

¹ Lecture delivered at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute on Thursday 15th February 1940.

Poland during the last decade has shown that we must now approach the comparative study of any group of languages from the synchronic point of view. The old method of comparing vocables from different cognate languages belonging to unrelated periods of history which served the purpose of the pioneers of this science up to the day of the Junggrammatiker is no longer tenable. For the discovery of Hittite and Tocharian have introduced difficulties which can only be solved by a chronological study of linguistic facts within each individually attested member of the family and then instituting the comparison of synchronic elements of cognate members. This brings me to the present stand taken by the European linguists headed by the younger generation of scholars like Benveniste and Kurylowicz, namely that of historical and geographic linguistics.

First and foremost come those initial speculations of the early Aryans with reference to etymology, found now and again in the Brähmanas Āranyakas and older Upanisads. While the Nirukta school has been studied in detail, a systematic study of these ancient equations posited by the hoary preservers of Aryan Culture in India, is still a desideratum. Many of these equations will appear surprisingly modern. Of course a majority will be discovered to be merely due to folk etymology or as artificial creations of the priestly class, finding an echo perhaps in Swift's parody of the etymology of the words '*Alexander the great*' as equivalent to '*All eggs under the grate.*' But the equations which we find of the nature indicated below are very bold and modern in their conception. Thus in Brāhmaṇa Āranyaka Upaniṣad 4.2.2. we read as follows: 'Indho ha vai nāmaisāḥ tam *indham* santam *Indra* ity ācakṣate,' which in effect posits the equation *indra-*><*indha-*. If we study the history of Indo-Aryan during its transition from OI-A. to MI-A. we notice that the presence of an *r* in a consonant cluster has often resulted in an aspiration; thus Sk. *tatra*>Pk. *tattha*, Sk. **i-tra*>Pk. *ettha*, etc. Here then is a statement identifying the two words *indha-* and *indra-*, presuming unconsciously perhaps, the knowledge of such aspiration which is lost in the actually attested MI-A. stage where we have only *inda-*.

Now whether we attribute or not to this particular phenomenon a knowledge of aspiration in the presence of *r* found not only in MI-A. but also in NI-A. as discussed by Prof. Blcch in his

*Formation de la langue marathe,*¹ we have to see in the existence of such an equation a profound insight into the nature of language as a symbolic expression of man's innermost feelings. It points out to the necessity of investigating all the etymological equations contained in the entire field of Vedic literature, and interpreting them not only in the traditional manner but also from the modern scientific point of view. This is a source which still remains to be utilized like the Nirukta and Prātiśākhyā schools studied respectively by Sköld and Sarup on the one hand and Siddheshwar Varma on the other, followed by others in the field like Mangaldev Sastri of Benares.

Turning to the later classical period of OI-A. we notice the gradual fixation of the grammatical categories and forms in a steel frame which stifled the growth of the language as OI-A. but gave rise as a result to the MI-A. languages which continued the tradition of linguistic evolution stopped abruptly by the preeminence attached to Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. That this growth has been uninterrupted and continuous is proved by the many Prakritisms seen in the language of the Rgveda itself. For instance MI-A. is characterised by the loss of vocalic *r* which affects a following dental by changing it into a cerebral, and yet in RV we find *sāṅkata-*, *-kaṭā-*, *ni-kaṭū-*, etc. (cf. Wackernagel, *Ai Gr* I, p. 267). In his Introduction to the first volume of *Ai Gr* Wackernagel speaks of the influence of MI-A. on the Rgvedic dialect (pp. XVIII-XX). Now in order to be able to assert the influence of MI-A. on this earliest representative of OI-A. we should have roughly a historical and geographical knowledge of Indian linguistics.

Geography and History, or Time and Space have a special significance in modern Linguistics. Take for instance the RV *sūre duhitā* which means 'the daughter of the sun' standing for *sūro duhitā < sūras duhitā*. The sandhi which has taken place here clearly indicates that we have a Māgadhism, or more scientifically speaking, the forces which brought about the Mg. nom. sg. of nouns in *-a* to *-e* were already working sporadically during the Vedic period, and the geographical location of this phenomenon became localised in the Magadha country whence

¹ See § 84.

it travelled eastwards. About this form we shall give another explanation later.

Now these evident Prakritisations in the OI-A. language may be considered as an aspect of Hyper-Sanskritisation ; in other words R̄gvedic *sūre duhitā* may be hypersanskritisation of an eastern dialectical form. Consider another word which has played an important part recently in linguistic discussions : *mlecha-* and the root *mlechati*. Scheftelowitz first connected OI-A. *mlecchá-* and Pāli *milakkha-* respectively with I-E **mlais-*
sko and Sk. *mūrkhā* in ZDMG 73, 234, which has been criticised by Liebich, BSOS 8, 623ff. and Pisani IF 57, 56ff. In a footnote to this last mentioned paper the Editor of IF refers to my explanation of the two forms to a root *mraks-* or *mrkṣ-* which has given rise on the one hand to Sk. *mlecchá-* or *mlechhati* and on the other to Pali *milakkha-* as needing further proof. The proof required is to demonstrate whether a hypersanskritisation of MI-A. *miccha* or *miliccha-* has given rise to OI-A. *mlecchá*. This is precisely the function of historical linguistics. If Vedic *vikātā* is the pure MI-A. form from *vi-kṛtā* taken into the vocabulary of the earlier or more literary dialect or *sūre duhitā* a Māgadhism for *sūro duhitā* there is no need to disbelieve the hypersanskritisation of MI-A. *miccha-* or *miliccha-* into OI-A. *mlecchá*, notwithstanding the fact that neither the two Lexicons of Roth or Böhtlingk nor the Nachträge of Schmidt give the meaning 'to speak indistinctly' to the OI-A. root *mrkṣ-* or *mraks-*. If the etymology of Sk. *mlecchá-* is to be based on comparison of Slovak *mlaskati*, *mléskati* and Polish *mlaskac*, there is all the greater reason to connect earlier forms within the I-A. domain itself to determine the relationship between the forms attested. The objection may be raised to such an interlinking by saying that they are distinct vocables semantically related to one another, confusion being due to intermixing or contamination of the synonymous expressions. But this is only a method of avoiding a straight investigation. Comparative linguistics applied to non-synchronic elements belonging to distinct but cognate groups does not solve the etymological problems ; we are on safer grounds when we apply historical linguistics to each member within the wider group, and then connect similar results with synchronic development within the other cognate members. Besides we have here continuity both in space and time, an added factor to the reliability of our conclusions.

I have diverged in this manner to point out the necessity of studying Indian Linguistics in its historical aspect. So long we have depended entirely on European studies of Indian languages from the modern view point, neglecting the traditional accounts we have of the different aspects of these languages.

In order to study the Indian languages in their historical development we need a fixed chronology, but in the absence of such a chronology we have to approach these subjects through definite periods. Two things are necessary so far as Indian vocabularies are concerned: their occurrence at definite periods and the different meanings attached to them during their evolution; in a sense the entire history of the word period by period. What Yule and Burnell have done in *Hobson-Jobson* or Lokotsch for *Oriental Words in European languages* or Dalgado for *Portuguese vocabularies in Indian languages*, must be done more minutely within the Indian field itself. None of the existing Sanskrit dictionaries are on such historical principles. What are the words utilized by Kālidāsa, what expressions are peculiar to Bhavabhūti, what is the nature of Subandhu's or Bāna's vocabulary? Only a historical study of Sk. vocabularies can solve these questions and may often help us in determining the relative chronology of the different authors. This is a new line of study which promises a great deal. The study of the vocabularies of each Sk. poet or dramatist, and the manner in which he expresses his thought content within that limit constitute a new line of investigation in lexicography as well as stylistics.

Coming to another problem connected with the verbal system of Indo-Aryan we notice that Pāṇini's Dhātupāṭha consists of many roots which appear to have undergone MI-A. influence. Thus we have *ak-*; *ag-*, *añc-*: *añj-*, etc, where the mute and sonant stops interchange. The problem here is to find out which is the original root and which may be explained naturally by Sk. borrowing its inherited element from MI-A. This borrowed element is not confined to the roots only, but covers all the different types of vocabularies. From this angle the whole Sk. vocabulary needs investigation. This enquiry should cover the meanings of the words, orthography, the probable date of the usage with citation of the first employment in literature, etc. Here also the available Sk. kośas may be employed with profit. For the fixing of the meaning of a word does not form part of pure linguistics,

since it is fixed only by usage, and this usage is generally reflected in the *kośas*. A systematic study of the words occurring in all available *kośas*, arranged according to chronology, number of meanings attached to each word, will show not only the chronological order of the *kośas*, but also illustrate the semantic evolution of the words with reference to space and time, that is geographical location and chronological stratum.

The greatest defect of Indian linguistics is the absence of clearly demarcated isoglosses. Just as problems of Indian chronology surpass the number of researchers in the field, the problem of interborrowing which has gone on between the different dialectal areas in northern India has made linguistic advance very slow. The future work in Indian linguistics must concern itself with this problem, and no advance will be possible unless it is tackled seriously, minutely and successfully in all its aspects. The study of MI-A. has suffered because there is no clear indication of such demarcation. While the movement of simplification has affected all MI-A. languages there is nothing inherently specific which differentiates the different members of this group. The grammarians deal with three, M. Mg. and Ś. or four or six languages, which differ from each other in very few cases only. The division is very artificial between the sub-varieties of Mg or Ś or M. or of Ap. and Paiś. But for the Pk. grammarians or writers on rhetorics, we should find but three varieties of Pk. only. These show us the general tendencies current in the whole field of MI-A. For instance when single intervocalic stops disappear in M. the dentals are retained in Ś and Mg. The history of the cerebrals in the same position is slightly different. The simplification has not affected all stops at the same time and we need a definite knowledge in time and space of this movement affecting the entire group of stops. Again if we consider consonant clusters in MI-A. we find that the assimilation did not affect all groups at the same time or the same manner : e. g. in Pāli we have the loc. sg. of masc. nouns in -*a* as either -*amhi* or *asmin*; in the N-W. group of Aśokan inscriptions consonant groups with *r* are not generally assimilated while others are. It is therefore necessary to study these changes with reference to the place and time or chronology of the particular dialects studied. So far no attempt has been made to unravel this

problem in the manner suggested by me. The comparative grammar of the Pkts. can only point out to the general movement of simplification, but never discover the detailed ramifications of that movement as it expressed itself through time and space. The first and foremost manner in which this problem may be attempted, in the absence of definite chronology of Prakrit writings, is to take up the dated Prakrit inscriptions found in all parts of India, covering a wide extent both geographically and chronologically, study the characteristics of the different dialects from these two points of view and then link up the results in a comparative summary. Coordinating these results with similar results arising from the study of other literary documents whose dates are more or less definite, with reference to time and location, will lay the basis for a more authoritative history of Indian linguistics than has been possible hitherto.

How can the study of the literary remains from this point of view be carried out is the question which naturally arises from the discussion above. I wish here to point out the mere outline of that investigation by citing the example of a unique work which needs no introduction to the world of scholarship—I refer to that Colossus of Text Criticism of which this Institute may well be proud—the Critical Edition of the Great Epic. For the constitution of this critical text MSS have been utilised from the different provinces of India, written in different characters, belonging to definite periods, covering in all about 8 or 9 centuries. It is not for me to enter here into the principles of text criticism; but it is sufficient for my purpose to mention here that the material presented to us in the apparatus criticus, representing as it does the MSS tradition of the Great Epic as current in the vast area of our country, forms the basis of a new linguistic study which is full of promise. The variants recorded need to be studied from the linguistic point of view, arranged in a statistical manner. Thus for instance we know that in MI-A. the locative and instrumental frequently interchanged their places, particularly in Jaina M., and this fact explains the genesis of Mar. instr. sing. *-ē* which is not from Sk. *-ena* as Bloch suggests¹ followed by Turner² (explaining the disappearance of intervocal *-n-* by

¹ *Formation de la langue marathe* §

² JRAS 1927, 227-239. Phonetic Weakness of Terminational Elements in Indo-Aryan.

the phonetic weakness of terminational elements), but is from Apa. *-ahī* < Sk. loc. sg. *-asmin*, where the intervocalic *-h-* disappears quite naturally.¹ Now it may be quite possible that a statistical analysis of the critical material from this edition from the point of case variation may give us some hint regarding the manner in which the loc. usurped the place of the instr. and the probable region where such usurpation took place. A statistical study of this type will point out to certain traits of particular regions which will, in conjunction with a knowledge of the present languages spoken in those regions, fix for us the linguistic geography of MI-A or NI-A on a chronological basis. Reverting in this connection to the form *sūre duhitā* of the Rgveda we notice that Reichelt construed it as a dative (*Festschrift Streitberg* 239) or a locative to which severe exception was taken by Wackernagel who followed Bloomfield and Kuhn in regarding it as a Māgadhism for the genitive *sūro* < **sūraz*. Turning to the Critical Edition we notice such an idiom like *pītā mahyam*, where the dative is beyond doubt. The variant *mama* or *me* (the last being originally locative, taking the place of the dative and genitive already during the Vedic period), being very conspicuous in the apparatus criticus with reference to northern MSS. If we notice the linguistic characteristics of the Dravidian languages we find at once that the dative of kinship is the normal idiom, and therefore no real variant of the dative will occur in MSS hailing from these places. This dative of kinship forms part of the Dative of Possession which is one of the most prolific in Vedic prose.²

The study of these variants should proceed along statistical lines covering every aspect of linguistics such as phonology, morphology, syntax, vocabulary and semantics. It is only a coordination of the results of such statistical research which will enable us in the near future to work up a linguistic geography of India.

Just as the variants of any critical edition for which MSS are available in different parts of the country in different scripts, help us in fixing the geographical linguistics of Indian langu-

¹ Grierson, *JRAS* 1921, 260.

² Siddheshwar Varma, *Jha Commemoration Volume* 435-456, Syntax of the Dative Case in the Rgveda.

ages, so also do the evident *shreibfehler* or faults seen in the MSS material provide an interesting field of investigation. These faults noticed in the Sk. MSS. are capable of throwing a good deal of light on the linguistic evolution of Middle and New Indo-Aryan, and it is a field which has not yet been taken into account so far as Indian linguistics is concerned. These so called faults are real indexes to the force of linguistic evolution which transforms one set of forms into another, changing at times the very nature of the language. I need point out here to a work in French by Frei entitled *Grammaire des fautes*,¹ which concerns itself with the study of faults, grammatical or otherwise, from the new angle of Stylistics first established by the Swiss scholar Charles Bally in his *Traité de stylistique française*.

Although the traditional grammatical systems have each an appendage entitled Linganuśasana, dealing with the gender of Sanskrit words according to the nature of the primary or secondary endings characterising them, the evolution of gender in the history of I-A languages requires a thorough investigation. What are the factors which change gender? Why are these factors not uniform within each language? These are some questions which need an answer. With the exception of Mar. Konk. and Guj. in Western India and Bhadarwahi in the Himalayan area the neuter has completely disappeared from the NI-A stage. But the development of the masc. and fem. from the Old and Middle I-A stages is not quite definite. We have for instance Sk. *agnih* : Pk. *aggi* masc., but NI-A. *āg*, *āgi*, *agg.* etc. fem.; similarly Sk. *ikṣuh* : Pk. *ikkhu* or Pa. *icchu-*, masc., but Hindi *ūkh*, *ikh* fem in opposition to Mar. *ūs*, Pj. *ikkh-* masc. Again Sk. *vārtman* neut. > Pk. *vattā* fem. *vatta* neut. from the first of which we derive all NI-A forms in the fem. An isolated study is not sufficient to bring out the full implication of this development; no generalisations will be possible unless we study the whole subject in its completeness, covering (a) inherited words discussed above and (b) learned borrowings. If we study these learned borrowing from Sanskrit in the neo Indo-Aryan languages we shall often notice that a change of gender is not uncommon between the different members of this group. Even in

¹ Paris, Geuthner, 1929.

the study of the traditional Kośas we shall notice that the gender of any word in a particular significance is not a fixed quantity, but differs with the period and the author. The historical evolution of such a change is possible and the circumstances attendant upon the change capable of investigation. The position today is very unsatisfactory ; if we look into any dictionary, we shall often find that one word has either two or three genders, but in many instances the authorities cited are the kośas ; if the chronology of the kośas is determinable we shall be further enabled to determine the manner and the period through which the changes have occurred. The subject has not even been touched so far either by Indian or European linguists.

A vastly interesting line of investigation the importance of which is just being realized at the present moment is the study of the Deśī element in Indian languages, both I-A. and Dravidian. A familiar example is often cited in this connection : Mar. *tūp* Kan. *tuppa* and Deśī *tuppa*. Ignorant people may conclude from this that (a) Mar. has borrowed the word from Kan. or (b) Kan. has borrowed it from Mar. or (c) both have commonly derived it from an independent source. To prove the first proposition it is necessary to demonstrate that Kan. utilized the word at an earlier period than Mar. or for the second, vice versa. The Deśī occurrence itself is of the 12th cent. A. D., and the last proposition is the most difficult to establish unless the substratum of I-A. and Dravidian is separately studied with a minuteness of detail. Of course a large number of these Deśī words are I-A inherited vocables with semantic development which is not normally found in the real inherited element. In this particular instance, in the absence of a better suggestion, I propose to connect Deśī *tuppo* with Sk. *typrā-* masc. and neut. which signifies either the *puroḍāsa* or *ghṛta* according to the *Unādikalpa*. Ordinarily corresponding to Sk. *typti-* we have Ml-A. *titti-*, the *-i-* colouring being due to the dental *-ti-* resulting from the assimilation ; but in the present case we have the labial *-pp-* < *-pr-*, which assimilates the vocalic *γ* into the labial *u*. I am not aware of this etymology having been established before, and my reason in proposing it to you here is to demonstrate the fact that the so-called Deśī element needs very careful handling.

whether in the I-A or in the Dravidian field, before we attempt to determine the mutual relationship between the Dravidian influence on I-A. or of I-A. on Dravidian.

This topic brings me to another which is equally interesting, but having an appeal only to Dravidian scholars. It is well known that Dravidian has borrowed freely from Sanskrit; but what is not so well recognised is the fact that when the vocable is borrowed Dravidian may utilize it in meanings which it may not have originally possessed. Some of these changes have been recently studied by Jules Bloch and his pupils, but the attempts are sporadic. Only Indian scholars with a deep insight into Dravidian have the requisite qualifications for undertaking research in this problem. In a similar manner the Dravidian borrowals of I-A have to be investigated from the semantic point of view. This will enable us to build a history of semantic development of both I-A and Dravidian.

The cultural aspect of linguistics may best be illustrated by the study of what I propose to call the science of Synonymics. This science which has yet to be developed has the aim of studying the synonymic words of a particular family of languages within a defined geographical area arranged according to (a) etymological and genealogical relationship and (b) on the chronological basis. The results will show what particular elements have disappeared in the course of historical evolution and what new elements have replaced them chronologically. Then follows the investigation into the cause of such changes which is invariably a culture contact. In this manner we shall be able to help the scholars of Indian History to fill in the gaps in their account wherever synonymics throws some light on the dark periods. Sociology will find in this branch of Indian linguistics, yet to be developed, a powerful instrument of research. I am afraid I have nothing immediately at hand to illustrate this particular aspect of synonymics; I can only point out the importance of this investigation by referring to the interesting word *uśva-* in Sk. Already in the Prakrits we have besides *assa-* or *āsa-* a word *ghoṭaa-*, Sk. Pāli *ghoṭaka-*, which drives the earlier Vedic word out of existence in the NIA stage. Now this *ghoṭaka* has cognates in Kan. *kudure*, Tam. *kudirei*,

Telugu *gurramu* which posits Primitive Dravidian **ghutr-*, which is against all known facts about Dravidian which does not possess original aspirates. We have therefore to look towards a borrowing of this word by both IA and Dravidian. Jules Bloch in his Furlong Lectures on I-A.¹ connects this with the Egyptian *htr-*, showing ultimately that the Egyptian culture contact with the Indian subcontinent drove out the inherited word for horse from the central I-A. languages at least. A closer study will show that the word *aśva-* has again come to India in the compound expression *savār* < Sk. *aśvavāra-* through Persian sources. To fill in the gaps of this long history we need detailed investigations in synonymics applied to the I-A., Dravidian and other families of languages in India from the historical and etymological points of view as mentioned by me above. This is the first time that such a vista is kept before linguists in this country, and to my knowledge no work of this type has ever been done in any country. I should consider this as one of the most important and fruitful contributions to Indian linguistics in particular and forming a vital contribution to General Linguistics and history. The practical aspect of synonymics should not be lost sight of. In these days when politicians are trying to evolve a *lingua franca* for the whole of India and communalists or provincial people are fighting over the terminology, script, vocables, etc., the study of synonymics will give us a scientific selection of vocables which may be included on objective grounds in the vocabulary of the new national language of India. There is nothing in synonymics which will hurt the feelings or susceptibilities of any class or group of persons.

Another aspect of Indian Linguistics which needs a careful survey is the existence in dialects of certain old vocables lost in the more cultivated languages. For instance the word *āyatana* of Sanskrit, already rare in medieval Sanskrit except in Buddhist and Jain Sanskrit, is strangely preserved in the dialects of Konkani as *āidana*, *aidōn*, etc. in the sense of a receptacle, vessel. How do we account for this? The Vedic word *āyatana-* lost in

¹ BSOS 5, 736.

practically all MI-A and NI-A languages appears once again in the dialects of Konkan as semi-tatsama (note the intervocal -d-). In this connection I may draw your attention also to a paper by Dr. Baburam Saksena of Allahabad University in the *New Indian Antiquary* entitled 'Some interesting Vocables of NI-A.'¹ The study of these semi-tatsama and rare words which cease to have their existence in the more learned languages is as important as any other. The reasons for such preservations or replacements need to be explained scientifically. For instance Mar. had the word *māthe* for Sk. *mastakam* up to perhaps the 16th or early 17th century A. D., but it is replaced throughout by the more modern *doka-*, in opposition to the Konkanī *māt(t)ē*. Why has this change taken place? What were the influences at work? These and other questions can only be dealt with after a careful investigation into interesting survivals of earlier vocables has been carried out.

Above everything there is the substratum of I-A. to be considered. The Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of Nepali by Turner has given us about 5000 I-A words in Nepali inherited from the Old and MI-A sources. But at the same time he has arrived at over 1000 reconstructions for which we have no explanations within the I-A branch. We shall have to seek for their origin in the neighbouring family of languages like the Munda, etc. forming part of the great Austro-Asiatic group. These words which are so common to all NI-A vernaculars, are yet foreign to the nature of I-A. and nevertheless form the substratum of I-A. Future research must necessarily take them into account, and there is vast scope for investigation here.

One of the queer ways in which a foreign element is introduced in the I-A field has been recently investigated by Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji (since 1933 in fact) and he has called this particular phenomenon translation-compound.² The foreign element is compounded with its native synonym or translation and together forms a new vocable enriching the language. In a recent paper 'Etymological Notes' contributed to the Ross Festschrift³ he has discussed many of them. The number of such translation compounds is steadily increasing with the progress

¹ *New Indian Antiquary* 1.

² *New Indian Antiquary* 2, 421-27, *Ross Festschrift* 68-74.

of investigation in this particular field, showing us how much we have yet to go before a proper history of Indo-Aryan or Dravidian can be attempted.

Turning once more to the Dravidian field I must point out to a fundamental work which yet needs to be carried out. While there are many comparative etymological dictionaries in existence for individual members of the I-A family, there is none in the Dravidian field. The comparative study of Dravidian is more complicated than that of I-A., but this is chiefly due to the fact that no serious attempt has been made to correlate the Dravidian vocables among themselves. All the scholars so far have attempted to go to the proto-dravidian field without having made historical studies in Dravidian linguistics with the material in existence in India itself, and tried to find affinities with Finno-Ugrian and Scythian, etc. I take my stand firmly with the late Prof. Wackernagel that no linguist should attempt to bring in line such affinities unless he possesses first-hand knowledge of both media. The work in the present century is marred because great scholars have assayed to tread without sufficient personal first-hand knowledge of these different media. The fault is partly that of Indian scholars. I would earnestly place before you the necessity of linking up the cognate vocables of Dravidian in a semantic chain as a byproduct of the synecymics mentioned by me earlier. This linking up should be both chronological as well as etymological. This work will form the basis of any future research in Dravidian linguistics.

Reverting to the subject of Sanskrit vocables I would like to draw your attention to some useful work carried out by Paul Thieme. Though Sanskrit and Persian are I-E languages, each of them has an independent history. It will therefore be interesting to know how far the one has influenced the vocabulary of the other. What is the extent of the borrowals by Sanskrit from Persian? A study such as this will surely throw light on many dark points of Indian history. For instance we have in the *Mṛcchakatika* a word in Dhakkī dialect 'pedāṇḍa-', for which the chāyā gives us 'lupta-dāṇḍa-'. Thieme considers this rather as the equivalent of Sk. *prēlāṇḍa-* 'a eunuch'. Now the point is, what is the authority for the chāyā reading as *lupta-dāṇḍa-*? If Thieme admits Persian words in Sanskrft such as *bandī* etc.

there is nothing to prevent considering the initial of *pedanda*-as the modern *be-* meaning *lupta* or 'without'. I do not propose to draw this conclusion: I am merely placing it before you for your consideration. If the fact be established definitely beyond doubt, here is a new factor to be taken into account for determining the date of the play. When did Persian vocables filter through into I-A? This is a problem which is distinct from the problem of the Indo-Iranian frontier languages where the work of Prof. Morgenstierne has already made a great advance. It is a problem as much for historians as it is for linguists, and the two must necessarily join hands in this investigation.

There is one great problem where the linguist needs the help of all the other scholars in the field of Indology, and it is connected with taboo words. These taboo words, mostly referring to the parts of the body and particularly the sex organs or characteristics, show an interesting development. While most anthropologists in Africa, Australia and other parts of the world have taken a special interest in recording the values of such taboo words or expressions, no systematic work has been done in the Indian field. The Société de linguistique de Paris has, for instance, published an exhaustive monograph on the words indicating the different parts of the body in Georgian.¹ A work of a similar nature should be undertaken in India, taking all the different families of languages in existence. These taboo words are not always to be found in dictionaries: for the early Missionary scholars fought shy of them, or if they at all recorded such expressions they hid their confusion by giving the meaning in Latin. It will therefore be necessary for respectable scholars to make very careful researches patiently in all parts of the country and bring their results together. Here we can make very little distinction between I-A or Dravidian for that matter. These taboo words are found very widely scattered in different linguistic areas. The investigation must necessarily take into account the semantic changes of cognate expressions historically as well as from the point of view of location. For instance the

¹ L. Homburger: *Noms des parties du corps dans les langues negro-africaines*, Collection Linguistique de la Société de linguistique de Paris, 26.

OI-A word for 'temple' also stands for 'posterior.' I am advisedly not using the exact expressions in this particular place. Again the I-A word for 'cheek' stands for the taboo expression representing a sex organ. What are the semantic changes which have brought about this transformation? Are they local influences or are they of a general linguistic nature involving certain generalized principles? To answer this question we must have a complete dictionary of taboo words arranged according to geographical contiguity and chronological sequence.

All through my address today I have laid particular stress on historical linguistics. We are finished with the earlier school of linguists who were not particular about the exact chronology of the vocables which they employed freely in their discussions. Even in Turner's monumental work on Nepali we find references to words occurring in Sanskrit lexicons as forming the link between MI-A and NI-A. But unless we know more about the relative chronology, if not the exact chronology, of the vocables we utilize for our every day study, further progress in Indian linguistics cannot be achieved. I have offered for your thoughtful consideration some of the new lines which have suggested themselves to me in my own researches during the last decade. Some of these I am myself personally investigating or guiding; but there is so much work to be done yet, and this fact alone has persuaded me in placing before you in an actual form problems which may be undertaken with profit. My only desire is that our country which was in the forefront in this branch of science more than two thousand years ago should once more rise to the occasion and attain the supremacy which is justly her due. We want investigations into new fields of linguistics which will open out vaster fields and establish a wider vision into the very nature of speech.

There are other problems connected with modern forms of speech, but the time at my disposal and the importance of the subject do not allow me to proceed further with the enquiry undertaken by me in this lecture. I must also eschew the subject of Instrumental Phonetics which is one of the most potent agents of research in living speech.

I must thank you for the very patient listening you have given me today, and I only hope that those of you who have been engaged in research in allied fields will find here the germs of many profitable problems which, when worked out, will place Indian linguistics nearer to perfection. It is but meet that where the great Bhandarkar paved the highway of Indian linguistics 63 years ago (in 1877) the members of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute should carry on his tradition by digging up the bypaths and perfecting the science more and more.



* NEW LIGHT ON THE VEDIC GOD—सवितृ.

BY

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There has been a considerable difference of opinion, among vedic scholars, regarding the exact interpretation of the personality of the vedic god, सवितृ. This fact naturally enhances our interest in the study of the vedic mythology concerning that god. A critical approach to the problem about the essential nature of सवितृ is expected to greatly clarify our views in the matter of indo-germanic mythology in general and vedic mythology in particular.

Oldenberg is strongly of the opinion (*Religion des Veda*) that the conception underlying the god सवितृ cannot, under any circumstances, be taken back into the indo-germanic period. सवितृ is comparatively a younger member of the vedic pantheon ; this fact is amply corroborated by the very name of that god, i. e. सवितृ, which is directly derived from the vedic root स् (to stimulate, to vivify), as well as by the manner in which that god has actually come into being. The genesis of सवितृ indicates clearly, according to Oldenberg, a very late phase in the evolution of vedic religious thought. The earlier and more important gods of the RV, like वरुण, मित्र, इन्द्र, etc., are mainly the personifications of natural phenomena. In the descriptions of these gods, the naturalistic element often becomes quite apparent. They consequently possess a sort of 'concreteness' about their nature and character. A natural step further in the evolution of the religious thought was to go from the external concrete form of natural phenomena to the inner abstract spirit, which was supposed to be working behind those phenomena. The most outstanding characteristic of the whole universal life is the manifold form of 'motion' or 'movement' (Bewegung), which is clearly perceptible everywhere. Every phenomenon of nature as well as every activity of human beings has some form

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of 'movement' involved in it: The sun rises and sets; the अश्विनौ go on their usual rounds; the rivers flow; men start working;—all these happenings presuppose some kind of 'stimulation' or 'vivification' from within. It is only as the result of that 'stimulation' that the whole world-order is kept eternally going. The physical fact of 'movement' and 'motion', thus, led logically to its spiritual counterpart of stimulation. It is this conception of 'stimulation', as the result of which the whole universal order is set into motion, that was deified in the later phase in the evolution of the vedic religious thought. A definite and independent god came to be looked upon as mainly and exclusively responsible for this 'stimulation' and that god was सवितृ. He was the 'god stimulator'. The origin of सवितृ, therefore, belongs, according to Oldenberg, to a period when abstract conceptions were deified and added to the vedic pantheon: त्राता, धाता, नेता, even प्रजापति are the other gods, who belong to this category. The grammatical aspect of the name सवितृ also is quite unique. Here a present participle is made to represent a distinct vedic god as also in the case of धाता, नेता etc. The vedic poet does not any longer restrict himself, while naming a god, to the physical function of that god, such as वरुण, the 'pervader' or इन्द्र, the 'kindler' etc., but he now refers to the deeper spiritual function of that god. The god सवितृ is often described as stretching out his huge golden hands in order to 'direct' and 'stimulate' movements in the world.

Oldenberg further believes that the fact that सवितृ is a later vedic god can be clearly proved by the consideration of the position of that god in vedic ritual. सवितृ has no सोमस्थन dedicated to him. At the beginning of big sacrifices, सवितृ is honoured with the words, देवस्य सवितुः प्रसवे.... This position given to सवितृ is positively an afterthought. A place was specially made for सवितृ, since he did not have it in the original scheme of ancient vedic ritual. He was therefore glorified just at the beginning of the ritual.

Oldenberg puts forth still another viewpoint regarding the nature of सवितृ. It was generally observed that the sun-god is mainly responsible for the most enormous movement in the universe and that all other movements are apparently dependent

upon him. Ultimately therefore the sun-god came to be regarded as the 'stimulator' par excellence and the epithet, सवितृ, was, in many passages, employed with reference to सूर्य. This consequently led to the usual misconception that सवितृ was originally conceived of as being identical with सूर्य. Oldenberg has strongly--and as will be shown, in detail, later on, rightly--opposed this idea of the identification of these two vedic gods, सूर्य and सवितृ (Z. D. M. G. Vol. LI). In eleven entire hymns addressed to सवितृ, as well as in the several references made in the Veda to that god, the solar character of that god is hardly brought forth with prominence. सवितृ is, without doubt, associated in vedic hymns with 'light' and 'splendour' (IV. 6. 2 : VI. 13. 2 : VII. 76. 1); he is said to stimulate splendour in the east (X. 139. 1); he illuminates the अन्तरिक्ष and चावापृथिवी (I. 35. 9-11); he brings blessings to man, with all seasons, by day and in the night (IV. 53. 7); he is the father of सूर्या; indeed the whole hymn, V. 81., seems particularly to emphasise the sunlike character of सवितृ. But these references do not indicate, as may be shown later, the 'solar sources' of the origin of सवितृ. The evidence against the identification of सवितृ with सूर्य is quite overwhelming.

Oldenberg has thus arrived at three important conclusions regarding the nature of सवितृ :

(1). The god सवितृ belongs to a late phase in the evolution of vedic religious thought,—to a phase when abstract conceptions came to be deified. सवितृ represents an abstraction of the idea of 'stimulation'.

(2). सवितृ is, therefore, clearly a later addition to the pantheon of vedic gods. The study of the evolution of vedic mythology and the consideration of the position of सवितृ in vedic ritual would corroborate this viewpoint.

(3). The identification of सवितृ and सूर्य is a gross misconception. The 'essential' in the nature of सवितृ is not the idea of the sun-god in general or of the sun-god in his particular aspect; but the 'essential' in his nature is definitely the abstraction of the idea of stimulation.

As regards Oldenberg's first conclusion, it must be said that

there is abundant evidence to show that सवितृ cannot be regarded merely as an 'abstraction-divinity'. The descriptions of सवितृ in vedic hymns are so pictorial that one is definitely inclined to believe that the vedic poet must have thought of some 'concrete personality' as represented by that god. The RV describes सवितृ as possessing golden arms (I. 35. 9-10 : VI. 71. 1-5 : VII. 45. 2). He is broad-handed (II. 38. 2); he has beautiful hands (III. 33. 6); he wears a tawny garment (IV. 35. 2); his omniform car is golden (I. 35. 2-3-5) and it is driven by two radiant steeds (I. 35. 2-5). सवितृ raises aloft his two strong arms in order to bless all beings and set them working (II. 38. 2 : VI. 71. 1 and 5 : IV. 53. 4). He is once called अपां नपात् (I. 22. 6). All these descriptions go to prove convincingly that the vedic poet thought of सवितृ as possessing a positively concrete personality and not as representing merely an abstract conception. A comparison between the descriptions of सवितृ on the one hand and the descriptions of purely abstract divinities like ब्राता, नेता, धाता etc. on the other, will be very suggestive in this connection. As Max Müller has aptly observed, the vigour and brightness of सवितृ significantly contrast against the pale and shadowy features of deities like धाता, ब्राता etc., which are included by Oldenberg in the same category as सवितृ. The latter divinities have no concrete personality behind them and so the personification of abstract conceptions represented by them is lifeless and unconvincing. The case of सवितृ, however, is quite different. There is considerable anthropomorphism to be seen in the personality of सवितृ; the activities of that god are described, by the vedic poets, from the human point of view. The vedic poets seem to have actually seen, with their divine poetic eye—आर्ष चक्षु—the majestic personality of सवितृ raising aloft his huge golden hands in order to direct and set in motion the affairs of the world.

Oldenberg further puts too much emphasis on the significance of the formula, देवस्य त्वा सवितृः प्रसवे, often repeated at the beginning of the vedic ritual. He maintains that the fact that सवितृ is mentioned just at the beginning of the ritual indicates that the place given to सवितृ in vedic ritual is an afterthought and that the formula, देवस्य सवितृः प्रसवे, brings forth prominently the nature of

सवितृ as representing the abstract conception of stimulation. But it must be remembered that that formula is often followed by the words, अविनोः बाहुभ्यां, पूर्णो हस्ताभ्याम्, which show that the whole formula is stereotyped and does not possess any definite significance of its own. On the other hand, सवितृ is regularly referred to in अश्विष्टोम and the mention is often made of the 'सावित्र ग्रह' dedicated to him. In the ऐतरेय ब्राह्मण, the ऋष्यs are associated with सवितृ, and are called his अन्तेश्वासाः. The RV (I. 110. 2-3 : I. 161. 11) describes the ऋष्यs as living in the house of सवितृ for twelve days. This latter reference clearly presupposes a definite personal character of the vedic god सवितृ. सवितृ is here undoubtedly the name of a distinct mythological personality. सवितृ is again called अगोहा in these RV passages ; सायण explains the word अगोहा as आदित्य. This implied connection of सवितृ with आदित्य makes सवितृ possibly a member of the वरुण-आदित्य-mythological circle. In तैतिरीय संहिता (I. 1. 9), सवितृ is associated with 'fetters', which fact again goes against his being merely an abstraction-divinity. On the whole, the position of सवितृ in vedic ritual contrasted with that of धाता, नेता etc. proves conclusively that सवितृ belongs to quite a different category from that of the latter divinities. The vedic ritualists, like vedic poets, looked upon सवितृ as possessing a clearly concrete personality.

The second conclusion of Oldenberg namely that सवितृ is a later addition to the pantheon of vedic gods is based upon his first conclusion and must therefore needs fall to the ground with it. The conception of a god, who stimulates and directs the huge world-order cannot be said to be belonging exclusively to vedic mythology. It is to be met with in almost all indogermanic religions. The evolution of indogermanic religious thought may be briefly stated as follows: It was first of all the infinite vastness of nature, which strongly impressed the mind of the indogermanic people. They deified this infinite vastness and glorified it in the divine form of 'Father शौः—शौः पितर—Jupiter. This may be regarded as one of the oldest religious conceptions of the indogermanic mythology. They later on came to realise that this infinitely vast nature was not an uncontrolled chaos : The sun rises and sets punctually ; the rivers

flow in their well-defined currents; the stars shine with undisturbed regularity; every activity in the universe was regulated in a perfect but inconceivable manner. All this must be due to a certain 'law' or 'order' which works behind all the world phenomena. This gave rise to the abstract conception of कृत—cosmic order—and its mythological counterpart, वरुण in RV, the sovereign-lord, सम्राट्, whose function it was to see that this 'world-order' remains undisturbed and unbroken. The sovereign-lord वरुण supervises, controls, and directs every 'movement', big or small, from the enormous daily rounds of the sun-god to the slightest winking of the eye in the case of an ordinary mortal. This conception too occurs predominantly in every ancient indogermanic mythology. The abstract idea of stimulation and its divine counterpart सवित्र, both of which are so closely related to the वरुण-कृत conceptions, need not therefore be regarded as belonging to a late phase in the evolution of vedic religious thought. Oldenberg has included सवित्र in the category of पाता, नेता etc. which latter are obviously later creations of the vedic poets. The very fact, however, that eleven entire hymns are addressed to सवित्र, and that about 170 references are made to that god, should be sufficient to disprove the contention of Oldenberg. No other divinity belonging to that late category proposed by Oldenberg has been so much glorified and sung in vedic hymns. Oldenberg has not been able to explain why only one god, सवित्र, in preference to other gods belonging to the same late group and category, should be raised so high and be placed, in vedic hymns themselves, on the same level as the older and more important vedic gods. The association of सवित्र with the greater and older gods of RV is such as would definitely go against the possibility of सवित्र being a younger member of the vedic pantheon.

The fact that सवित्र plays a comparatively small and unimportant role in vedic ritual does not at all prove, as Oldenberg avers, that he is a later vedic god. The similar is the case with वरुण, who cannot, under any circumstances, be regarded as a younger member of the vedic pantheon. On the other hand प्रजापति, who clearly belongs to a late phase of vedic religious thought, is very prominent in the vedic ritual. I shall try to show later on that though the name of this god, सवित्र, may be of purely Indian origin, the main characteristics and functions re-

presented by that god can be definitely traced back to ancient indogermanic mythology.

Oldenberg vehemently opposes the proposition that the vedic god सवितृ was originally conceived of as an aspect of the sun-god. Hillebrandt and L. von Schröder have indeed identified सवितृ with सूर्य. It will be necessary, at this stage, to consider critically and in detail, the view of Hillebrandt regarding the essential nature of सवितृ. He first of all takes into consideration the position of सवितृ in the vedic ritual. There is in शै० ब्रा० (III. 10. 1) a reference, in connection with अग्निचिति, to an altar of सवितृ-सर्वतः परिमण्डलं रथचक्रमात्रं सावित्रं परिलिख्य.....etc. According to Hillebrandt, this description clearly indicates the solar nature of सवितृ. Further he points out that the possible connection of सवितृ with आदित्य implied in RV (I, 110. 2 : I, 161. 11) supports the assumption that सवितृ is identical with the sun-god. In अश्वमेघ sacrifice, there are offerings to be made to सवितृ, on each day, during the year, which fact suggests the nature of that god as the 'lord of the year'. And this 'lord of the year' cannot be any other than the sun-god. These arguments based on the study of vedic ritual and brought forth by Hillebrandt in order to support his proposed identification of सवितृ with सूर्य, are far from being convincing. It must be remembered that the original personality of the vedic god is greatly changed when that god is transferred to the ritual. वरुण, who played such an important role in indogermanic mythology in general and in vedic mythology in particular, is, for example, rarely the central figure in the vedic ritual. To try to ascertain the nature of a vedic god from the study of the position of that god in the vedic ritual is therefore not the correct method. The main characteristics of a god usually fall into the background and his minor features, which afford some scope for ritualistic employment, are greatly magnified. The original personality of a god is thus often distorted for the sake of the contingencies of the ritual. Moreover the arguments put forth by Hillebrandt, regarding the nature of सवितृ, on the strength of the position of that god in the vedic ritual do not prove anything positively except that the vedic ritualists had known सवितृ as possessing a concrete personality. The peculiar form

of the सवित्र altar, which, according to Hillebrandt, represents the solar orb, may as well be suggestive of the conception of ' motion ' in the world-order, which is kept eternally going, as a consequence of the ' stimulation ' given by सवित्र. The implication that सवित्र is one of the आदित्यs does not further prove that सवित्र is the sun-god, since, the आदित्यs originally belong to वरुण-कृत mythology. Further, several gods besides सूर्य are glorified as ' lords of the year '. About वरुण, for instance, it is said in RV (I. 25. 8), वेद मासो धृतव्रतः द्वादश प्रजावतः । वेदा य उपजायते. There are, on the other hand, other ritualistic details about सवित्र, which positively go against his being identified with सूर्य. In तै० सं० (I. 1. 9) सवित्र is associated with fetters, which fact rather leads to the possible identity between वरुण and सवित्र. The पाशs are an exclusive feature of the वरुण-mythology. In RV (VI. 71. 5), सवित्र is compared with the उपवक्ता priest. This उपवक्ता is, in later ritual, called मेत्रावरुण, thus perhaps indirectly connecting सवित्र with मित्र-वरुण mythology. There is not the slightest hint, in vedic ritual, that सवित्र is identical with सूर्य. Had सवित्र and सूर्य been identical with each other, they could have interchanged their places in the ritual; one could have been substituted for the other. As a matter of fact, however, each of them is mentioned at distinct stages in the course of the ritual, and the parts which they are made to play in the ritual are also quite distinct.

When Hillebrandt refers to the descriptions of सवित्र in the RV he is on firmer ground. His views in this connection may be briefly summarised as follows : In a large number of RV passages, सवित्र is predominantly described as the ' Lord of light and splendour.' These descriptions very clearly bring about the solar nature of that god. The hymns which afford the most obvious indication of the identity between सवित्र and सूर्य are the fourth and the fifth. The hymn IV. 53 will be perfectly unintelligible without the assumption of the identity of these two gods. The idea of stimulation is, no doubt, often emphasised in the RV. But the contention of Oldenberg that सवित्र, as the god representing the abstract conception of vivification, is older than सवित्र, faintly and secondarily possessing the characteristics of the sun-god, cannot stand. Indeed we find both these ideas in one and the same hymn.

V.	81.	2	प्रासादीद् भर्तुं द्विपदे चतुर्ष्पदे
"	"	5	ठतोशिषे प्रसवस्य त्वमेक इत
"	"	2	वि नाकमस्यत् सविता वरेण्यः अनु प्रयाणं उपसो वि राजति.

As regards the reference, वि नाकम...etc., it should be noted that there is hardly any difference between these descriptions of सूर्य and the usual descriptions of सूर्य and अग्नि. Can Oldenberg prove that Rk 5 in V. 81 is older than Rk 2 or that V. 82, where the stimulation-idea is more prominently expressed, is older than V. 81 ? The following passages in RV referring to सूर्य—1) I. 115.4^{ab} तन्सूर्यस्य देवत्वं तन्महित्वम्...2) I. 115. 4cd 5cd यदेदयुक्त हरितः सप्तस्थाद्...3) X 37.9 यस्य ते विश्वा भुवनानि केतुना...4) VIII. 25. 19 उद्ध्य शरणं दिवः...5). VII. 79. 1 हुसंटटिभिः उक्षभिर्भिरुमश्रेत...may be compared respectively with the following vedic passages referring to सवितृ—1) II. 38. 4 एनः समव्यद् विततं वयन्ती—2) II. 38. 2 नूनमरीरमदतमानं चिदतोः—3) I. 35.2 आ ऋषेण रजसा वर्तमानः—4) VII. 76. 1 उहु ज्योतिः असृतं विश्वजन्य—5). IV. 13. 1 and 2 उत्सूर्यो ज्योतिषा देव एति—etc. The ideas expressed in these passages are similar; the literary expressions too are almost similar. The only natural conclusion therefore is that सूर्य and सवितृ were, to the mind of the vedic poet, identical with each other. They are often spoken of indiscriminately in the RV. One is described in terms usually applied to the other and it becomes therefore hardly possible to keep the two gods apart.

With reference to these arguments of Hillebrandt in favour of identifying सवितृ with सूर्य, it must be said, at the outset, that the learned vedic scholar takes into consideration only very general characteristics of सवितृ. Such divine characteristics, as being the lord of light and splendour; spreading rays of light everywhere; moving in golden chariot etc. etc.; are the common property of the vedic poets. They employ these features with reference to any vedic god, irrespective of his intrinsic nature. Association with light and splendour and other kindred features is the most common device of the vedic poet used by him for the glorification of each and every divinity. Further in a few passages quoted by Hillebrandt, सवितृ seems to be brought in close connection with सूर्य, because the predominant function of सवितृ—namely that of stimulating, directing and controlling the

world-phenomena--is the peculiar feature, if but in a restricted manner, of the nature of सूर्य also. What सवित्र is to the whole universe including the sun-god, सूर्य is to a few happenings in the world. This fact naturally gave rise to the misconception regarding the identity of these two vedic gods. A closer and more critical examination of the personality of सवित्र clearly indicates that that god definitely transcends the limitations of the sun-god. सवित्र and सूर्य may appear from some vedic passages to be closely connected, but they are more often differentiated from each other. The contents of सवित्र-hymns differ substantially from those of the सूर्य-hymns. The सूर्य-hymns are usually restricted merely to the descriptions of 'rising illumining light,' while the सवित्र-hymns put conspicuous emphasis upon the nature of that god as the 'stimulator, controller and director' of the world-order. It is said of सवित्र, in more glowing colours than of सूर्य, that he conducts, ceaselessly and with care, day and night, clearly defining their limits.

Let us bring together a few features of the sun-god, which are prominently described in the hymns addressed to him and which are, at the same time, never mentioned with reference to सवित्र. सूर्य is the eye of मित्रावरुण (I. 115. 1 : VI. 51. 1 : VII. 61. 1) or the eye of gods (VII. 77. 3), while सवित्र is himself described as मूर्यराजि (V. 139. 1). सूर्य is the spy of the world (IV. 13. 3); his chariot is drawn by seven steeds (V. 45. 9) as against the two radiant steeds of सवित्र (I. 35. 2). The path of सूर्य is prepared for him by वरुण (I. 24. 8 : VII. 87. 1) or by the आदिःस, मित्र, वरुण and अर्यमन् (VII. 60. 4), while सवित्र himself makes paths for all (II. 38. 7 and 9). सूर्य's father is योः (X. 37. 1) and he is said to be god-born (X. 37. 1); the mention is often made of सूर्य being produced and placed in heaven by several gods—by इन्द्र (II. 12. 4), by इन्द्रविष्णु (VII. 99. 4), by मित्रावरुणी (IV. 13. 2 : V. 63. 4), by इन्द्रवरुणी (VII. 82. 3), and by धातृ (X. 190. 3). This is a feature which clearly distinguishes सूर्य from सवित्र, for it is सवित्र, who is said to have produced and set in motion other natural powers (II. 38. 7 and 9). सूर्य is further described as a bird (X. 177. 1), or a bull (X. 189. 1), or a steed (VII. 77. 3), while in many other passages he is spoken of even as an inanimate object (VII. 63. 4 : V. 63. 4 : V. 62. 2); this is again a feature, which can never be thought of with reference to सवित्र, who is the stimulator of all

objects, animate as well as inanimate. On the other hand, सवितृ is described, unlike सूर्य, as vivifying वायु and पूष्ण (X. 64. 7 : X. 139. 1). Other features which clearly differentiate the functions of these two gods are the following : Waters obey the ordinance of सवितृ (II. 30. 1) ; with his hands सवितृ leads the rivers onwards (III. 33. 6) ; water and wind obey the law of सवितृ (II. 38. 2) ; सवितृ is प्रसविता as well as निवेशनः (IV. 53. 6).

The above discussion will be sufficient to prove how the vedic poets thought of सूर्य and सवितृ as two quite distinct personalities with quite distinct functions. Another feature which clearly distinguishes these two gods from each other is the fact that सवितृ is a morning as well as evening god, while सूर्य is exclusively the god of morning. Descriptions like

आकृष्णेन रजसा वर्तमानो
निवेशन् असुतं मर्त्ये च (I. 35. 2)

आस्थाद्रथं सविता चित्रभासुः
कृष्णा रजांसि तविर्षी दधानः (I. 35. 4)

can hardly be reconciled with the nature of सूर्य who is the lord of light and morning, and who is said to be travelling on an illuminated path even after sunset. It may be incidentally noted that the western direction is assigned to सवितृ in the शतपथब्राह्मण, thus again suggesting the distinction between सूर्य and सवितृ. Another exclusive feature of सवितृ is his association with अमति, the mighty splendour or form. This अमति has something magical in it (III. 38. 8 : VII. 38. 1 and 2 : VII. 45. 3). It is a supernatural miracle, something like the माया of इन्द्र or वरुण. No such magical power is ever connected with the sun-god. The part played by सवितृ in connection with the funeral rites (X. 17. 4 : AV XII. 2. 48) ; his being raised to the status of प्रजापति in RV (IV. 53. 2) and in later brahmanical literature (श. प. ब्रा. and त्र. ब्रा.) ; his being preeminently called असुर (IV. 53. 1) ; these are still more characteristics of the personality of सवितृ, which clearly distinguish him from सूर्य. सवितृ, unlike सूर्य, controls the working of all other gods (II. 38. 7 and 9) ; no god dare resist his will (IV. 82. 2). सवितृ bestows immortality not only on the ऋग्यस but also on other gods (IV. 54. 2-5-6 : II. 3. 1 : V. 81. 1). Do such references even faintly suggest the

identity of सूर्य and सवित्र ? Do they not indicate, beyond doubt, that the personality of सवित्र is far more transcendent than that of the sun-god and that the functions of सवित्र are far more comprehensive and important than those of सूर्य ? The frequent juxtaposition of these two gods again proves nothing if not the clear-cut distinction between them. The references such as that सवित्र declares men sinless to सूर्य (I. 123. 3), or that सवित्र combines with the rays of सूर्य (V. 81. 4) go to show that सूर्य is obviously subordinate to सवित्र. Indeed the whole hymn, V. 81., is important from this point of view. In VII. 35., where distinctive characteristics of different vedic gods have been mentioned, सूर्य and सवित्र are clearly distinguished. In several other passages (I. 35. 9 : I. 123. 3 : I. 157. 1 : V. 81. 4 : VII. 45. 2 : X. 149. 3) the names of सवित्र and सूर्य appear side by side. The activity of सवित्र is frequently connected with the setting of the sun (II. 38. 1-5). How can this be explained if सूर्य and सवित्र are identical ? सवित्र is said to bring forth night (II. 38. 3ff), which description is unthinkable with reference to सूर्य. The vedic poet asks असुर सवित्र—क इदानि सूर्यः (I. 35. 7)—thus further suggesting that सवित्र was regarded, in RV, as the controller of all the activities of the sun-god. It is therefore more than certain that the vedic poets distinguished very clearly between the vedic gods, सूर्य and सवित्र, and that they looked upon सवित्र, as a god who is responsible for stimulating and directing all the phenomena of the world, including that of the sun-god.

Macdonell thinks that सवित्र was originally a general epithet, of Indian origin, applied later on, in a restricted manner, to the sun-god as the typical stimulator. Thomas seems to corroborate this view when he asserts that सवित्र is the divine power of सूर्य personified. These seem to be merely attempts to bring about the compromise between the views of Oldenberg and Hillebrandt. The word, सवित्र, may have been, in some cases, used as an epithet of देव—god in general. This fact would perhaps merely indicate a stage when the present participle from वृत् had not been completely transformed into a proper name of a definite god. It should be remembered that the descriptions of सवित्र are not of a general character, so that they could be applied to any god in his capacity of a 'stimulator.' As Max Müller has said, the name

सवितृ may be of the nature of a general title, but it is never, on that account, applied to any enlivener, whether rain, or moon, or wind. It will be shown that the characteristics of सवितृ are indicative of a distinct vedic god in his aspect of the stimulator of the world-order.

Roth compares सवितृ with the Greek 'Hermes', who is the usherer of day and night. But he does not seem to have taken into consideration other distinctive characteristics of सवितृ. Even after long discussion, Bergaigne does not arrive at any definite conclusion regarding the essential personality of सवितृ. He, however, says that the nature of सवितृ cannot be explained by means of solar functions. The distinction that सूर्य represents the physical orb of the sun-god, while सवितृ represents the inner presiding divinity of the sun-god is, according to Bergaigne, not correct. He brings forth the implied identity of सवितृ and भग (IV. 55. 10 : V. 82. 3 : VI. 50. 13); the close connection between सवितृ and प्रजापति (IV. 53. 2), between सवितृ and लक्ष्मा (IX. 81. 4 : I. 13. 10), between सवितृ and पूष्ण (VI. 50. 3), and between सोम and सवितृ (X. 149. 5 : III. 56. 6). Bergaigne, further puts stress upon the 'Hermaphrodite' nature of सवितृ (III. 38. 8) remarking that सवितृ combines in himself the characteristics of both sexes. These are, however, merely stray references, which obviously do not indicate the true nature of सवितृ. It may be that सवितृ, in his different capacities, as the benefactor who distributes wealth, as the creator of the universe and the sustainer of the world-order, as the nourisher of the creatures etc., has been brought into close association with several vedic gods. This fact shows that the nature of सवितृ is not identical exclusively with the nature of any one of these gods, but that it definitely includes and transcends the distinctive features of all these gods.

The above discussion will clearly indicate how the explanations regarding the true nature of सवितृ proposed by Oldenberg, Hillebrandt, Macdonell, Thomas, Roth and Bergaigne are either onesided and incomplete or definitely beside the mark. A critical consideration of the views of these scholars has, however, led us so far to the following main conclusions:

(1) सवितृ is not merely an abstraction-divinity of the type of धाता, नेता etc. It is therefore not necessary to believe that सवितृ

belongs to a later phase of vedic religious thought and that therefore the conception underlying that god cannot be taken back beyond the vedic mythology.

(2) The view that सवितृ was originally conceived of as identical with सूर्य is a misconception, which originated on account of the fact that the main function of सवितृ, namely 'stimulation', was also observed in a restricted manner, among the descriptions of the sun-god. As a matter of fact, however, the vedic poets have clearly differentiated between these two gods.

(3) The word सवितृ is not an epithet of a general character, so that it could be applied to any god in his capacity of 'enlivener'. There is a distinct divine personality behind that name, possessing its own essential nature.

What then is the essential nature of सवितृ? In order to understand it correctly, we have to analyse the eleven entire hymns addressed to that god, and 170 references made to him in RV in a manner so that only such characteristics of his personality are brought together as clearly distinguish him from other vedic gods. It is an indisputable fact that vedic poets were often in the habit of using stock phrases with reference to any and every god. This their propensity has given rise to the innumerable repetitions in the Veda, as pointed out by Bloomfield. These common poetic formulas do not help us in estimating the character of a particular vedic god. We have therefore to base our views regarding the true and intrinsic nature of any god on the study of the निवित्स—the exclusive characteristics--mentioned in connection with that god.

A very prominent feature of the nature of सवितृ is that the conception of the world-order—द्रत— is often predominantly associated with his personality. सवितृ is the god who supports and preserves the whole world—विश्वं भुवनं धारयिष्यति (IV. 54. 5). He is said to be mainly responsible for sustaining the world-order and the ethical laws, so much so that he is regarded as a standard in that connection :

त्रि पञ्चाशः क्रीळति व्रात एषां

देव इव सविता सत्यधर्मा (X. 34'8)

देव इव सविता सत्यधर्मा

इन्द्रो न तस्थौ समरे धनानाश् (X. 139'3)

Waters are subject to the ordinance of सवितुः : आपश्चिदस्य व्रत आ निसृगा (II. 38.2) ; he leads the rivers onwards with his hands (III. 33. 6). Wind stops and blows according to सवितुः's व्रतः अयं चिद्गातो रमते परिजनन् (II. 38. 2) ; सवितुः has fixed up the erstwhile flying mountains (IV. 54. 5) ; all great gods have to act up according to his law : न यस्येन्द्रो वरुणो न मित्रो व्रतमर्यमा न मिनन्ति रुद्रः (II. 38.9) ; सवितुः gives orders to इन्द्र and other gods (IV. 54. 5) ; other gods follow सवितुः's lead ; no god dare resist his will (II. 38.7 and 9 : V. 82.2) ; बायु and पूर्ण move on account of the stimulation given by सवितुः (V. 82.5 : V. 139. 1). Whatever this god of beautiful hands, सवितुः, orders cannot be contradicted or transgressed ; his law stands as eternal truth :

न प्रामिय सवितुदेवस्य तथावा विश्वं भुवनं धारयिष्यति ।

तत्पुरुषिव्या वारिमन्त्रा स्वङ्गुरीः वर्घन्दिवः भुवति सत्यमस्य तत ॥ (IV. 54.4).

सवितुः is the lord of what moves and what is stationary (IV. 53.6). He is the supporter of the sky (IV. 53.2 : X. 149.4) and is once said to have fixed the earth with bonds and made the sky firm in the rafterless space (X. 149. 1). It is सवितुः, again, who sets in motion the chariot of अश्विनः (I. 34.10). It is further under his behest that several affairs of the world, huge and small, are set going (I. 124. 4 : II. 98.1ff). The Atharvaveda clearly mentions (VI. 23.3) :

देवस्य सवितुः सर्वे कर्म कृपदन्तु मानवाः.

These references to सवितुः in various vedic passages provide us with a definite starting point for ascertaining the true nature and personality of that vedic god. In a very large number of passages, सवितुः is associated with the conception of कृत. It has been indicated above that already a stage had been reached in the evolution of common indogermanic religious thought when it was positively asserted that this vast and infinite universe is not a lawless chaos, but that it presupposes a well-defined cosmic order working behind all world-phenomena. This conception of कृत--world-order—is to be met with in many indogermanic religions, which fact shows that it belonged to the common mythological heritage of the indogermanic people. Those religions had also to invent necessarily a mythological counterpart of that conception—a god who should be responsible for seeing that this कृत functions regularly and without break.

That god was consequently looked upon as the sovereign-lord of the universe, as the ruler, who sustains the law—cosmic and ethical—and who directs and regulates the world-phenomena. He keeps the whole world bound down by means of his fetters, so that it should not go astray from its regular well-defined course; and when he finds that his ordinance is broken, he binds the offender also by means of his fetters. The working of the cosmic order was however beyond the ken of human beings. The god, who controlled that cosmic order and made it function in an exceedingly perfect but inconceivable manner, was therefore naturally regarded as the greatest magician and was usually associated with majestic magic power—माया or अमति.

Several indo-germanic mythologies possess this conception of the world-order and more often of the magician sovereign-lord who sees that that cosmic order works without hindrance or break. In RV, we have कृत and वरुण; in Avesta, there is Ahura Mazda; in germanic religions, this world-sovereign is Odin; in the Lappish conception of the 'Welten-mann', we find a counterpart of vedic वरुण; a god of the Thrakers is called Darzales—a 'god of bondage', as the name suggests. Comparative mythology and comparative philology have proved, beyond doubt, that all these gods are the mythological counterparts, in several indogermanic religions, of one and the same abstract conception, namely that of the world-order. The features of such a god, like sovereignty, magical power, giving of orders, and binding by means of fetters, are common in all the indogermanic mythologies.

Our thesis regarding the essential nature and personality of सवित्र may now be stated as follows: सवित्र possesses, as has been shown above, all the characteristics of a god who stimulates, controls and directs the cosmic order. He is very often associated with all the main implications of the conception of कृत. The vedic poet must have originally thought of सवित्र as the god, who is responsible for stimulating, directing and controlling the world-phenomena. In other words, सवित्र was, for vedic poets, only another aspect of the god, वरुण. A comparison of the निविद्स of सवित्र with those of वरुण, which will be attempted presently, clearly indicates that these two gods are,

according to the vedic poet, identical with each other. The sovereign lord वरुण was viewed by the vedic poets from a particular standpoint; and special emphasis was put by them on certain of वरुण's peculiar functions. It was under such definite circumstances that वरुण was glorified in the form of सवितृ. The word सवितृ derived from वृत् was employed in some passages, as shown above, merely as an adjectival present participle connected with different gods in their capacity of 'enlivener'; thus सविता or stimulator in the domain of light was सूर्यः, सविता or stimulator of good luck was भगः; सविता or stimulator in the matter of creation was वैष्णवः. This is only an extension, in a general way, of the conception of stimulation. There is another possibility in this regard. The word सवितृ may have been originally used in a very general adjectival sense and in this stage of transition, the word was employed with reference to several gods like सूर्यः, भगः, वैष्णवः, etc. It was only in later times that the epithet, which had then become almost a proper noun, was restricted to an aspect of वरुण. But two facts definitely go against such hypothesis. With this hypothesis, सवितृ will have to be placed in the category of धाता, नेता etc., which possibility has already been shown to be out of question. Secondly the connection of सवितृ with other older gods of RV is such as would favour his being originally regarded as an old and prominent member of the pantheon of vedic gods,—namely as an aspect of वरुण. The association of सवितृ and the conception of कृत and consequently the implied identity between वरुण and सवितृ seem to be, therefore, more ancient in vedic mythology.

What is the peculiar aspect of the world-sovereign, वरुण, which is represented by सवितृ? Before an attempt is made to answer this question, it would be better to bring together the several features which are, in the Veda, common to the personality and nature of both वरुण and सवितृ.

To begin with it should be noted that in some vedic passages सवितृ and वरुण have been mentioned in such a manner as would clearly bring about the identity of those two gods; for instance,

प्र त्वा मुञ्चामि वरुणस्य पाशाद्

येन त्वा बधनाद् सविता सुशेषः । (X. 85.24).

Here the word सविता is used almost as another name of वरुण. The same is the case as regards III. 54.10 and III. 54.11, where सवितृ is mentioned directly after मित्रावरुण, thus suggesting a close connection between these divinities. The functions of सवितृ in his capacity of a stimulator and director of the world-order and the preserver of cosmic and ethical law (II. 38.2 : III. 33.6 : IV. 5.34 : X. 34.8 : X. 139.3) are entirely similar to those of वरुण in the same connection (VI. 70.1 : VII. 86.1 : VIII. 41.10 : VIII. 42.1). सवितृ is again closely associated with other members of the circle of वरुण mythology, namely, मित्र, भग, अर्यमन् etc. (VII. 66. 1-4). By reason of his laws सवितृ is said to become मित्र, (V. 81.4). सवितृ plays a double role ; he sets in motion and also puts to rest all worldly activities ; he is both प्रसविता and नवेशनः (IV. 53.6). This unique feature of सवितृ's character indicates, in a convincing manner, that the word सवितृ was not merely an epithet suggesting the abstraction of stimulation. In that case the two-fold nature of सवितृ would have been quite inconsistent. It is thus certain that the vedic poet thought of सवितृ as a distinct god wielding complete control over all the phenomena of the world. The usual exclusive epithet of वरुण, namely अषुर, is employed in a very significant manner with reference to सवितृ also (I. 35.7 : I. 35.10 : IV. 53.1). The word अषुर (अषु+र, possessive termination) had originally the particular sense of a god possessing greatest magical power. The epithet was therefore originally restricted to the magician sovereign-lord of the world, वरुण. When वरुण was glorified, in his peculiar aspect, as सवितृ, the epithet अषुर was also naturally transferred to him.

वरुण's car is prominently described as shining like the sun (I. 122.15) and as traversing the highest heaven (V. 63.1). The omniform chariot of सवितृ also is golden bright (I. 35.2-3) and travels to the bright realms of the heaven where he is united with the rays of the sun (V. 81.3-4). सवितृ puts on a tawny garment (IV. 35.2), which may be compared with the golden glistening mantle of वरुण (I. 25.13 : I. 152.1). वरुण and सवितृ are both connected with the nocturnal heaven (I. 35.2). As a moral governor वरुण stands far above any other deity. The spies of वरुण are often mentioned (I. 24.13 : VII. 61.3 : VII. 87.3).

The sun is वरुण's eye and is said to be reporting to वरुण the deeds of men (VII. 60. 1 and 3). सवितृ is also सूर्यरदिम् (X. 139. 1) and he declares men sinless to the sun (I. 123. 3). वरुण is the dispeller of falsehood (I. 152. 1 : VII. 60. 5 : VII. 66. 13) and removes sin (II. 28. 5 : V. 85. 7-8). Similar are the characteristics of सवितृ, who makes men sinless (IV. 54. 3) and drives away evil spirits (I. 35. 10 : VII. 38. 7). In this connection it is very instructive to compare IV. 54. 3 referring to सवितृ,

आचिन्ती यच्चक्षमा दैव्ये जने
दीनैदक्षैः प्रधूती पूरुषत्वता ।
देवेषु च सवितर्मातुषेषु च
त्वं नो अत्र सुवतादनागतः ॥

with VII. 89. 5 addressed to वरुणः,

यतिकं चेदं वरुण दैव्ये जने अभिद्रोहं मनुष्याश्वरामसि ।
आचिन्ती यत्त्वं धर्मा युयोपिम मा नस्तस्मादेनसो देव रीरिषः ॥

Here we see that the traits of वरुण and सवितृ in the matter of the removal of guilt are quite similar; so too the expressions are similar. This fact seems to indicate that the identity of वरुण and सवितृ was clear in the mind of the vedic poets. Similar features of सवितृ are also mentioned in other passages (VI. 71. 3 : VII. 38. 3 ; VIII. 27. 12 : VII. 45. 4 : I. 35. 11). वरुण is often called a king (I. 24. 7); he is king of all, both gods and men (X. 132. 4 : II. 27. 10), of the whole world (V. 85. 3), and of all that exists (VII. 87. 6). Much more frequently वरुण is called a universal monarch, सग्राहू. The signs of sovereignty are not absent even in सवितृ. The armour of सवितृ and the flag, which he is said to be bearing in his hand (IV. 13. 2 : IV. 14. 2 : VII. 63. 2) are surely indicative of his royalty. सवितृ bestows immortality not only on the कर्मसु (I. 110. 3), but also on other gods (IV. 54. 2, 5-6 : II. 3. 1 : V. 81. 1). वरुण is also called the wise guardian and bestower of immortality (VIII. 42. 2). The descriptions of सवितृ as leading the dead to their respective places (X. 17. 4) and his mention in connection with funeral rites (AV. XII. 2. 48 श. प. ब्रा.) compare well with the close association of वरुण and यम, the god of the dead (X. 14. 7). सवितृ is, like वरुण, the dispeller of bad dreams (V. 82. 4).

Two more features of the essential nature of सवितृ remind us of वरुण's personality. वरुण, as the sovereign-lord of the universe

and as the preserver of law, is usually associated with पाश, fetters. He uses them in a two-fold manner. He binds the world by means of these fetters, so that it should not swerve away from its well-defined order; he also binds, with these fetters, the offenders who break his law (I. 24. 15 : I. 25. 21 : VI. 74. 4 : X. 85. 24). सवितृ is similarly described as binding down the world-order with fetters in order to keep it intact:

सविता यन्वैः पृथिवीं अरभ्नाद् अस्कं भते सविता यामदंहत् ।

अश्वमिवाधुक्षद्वनिमन्तरिक्षमतूर्ते वद्धं सविता समुद्रम् ॥

(X. 149. 1).

It has already been indicated that तै. सं. (I. 1. 9) also speaks of the fetters of सवितृ. It should be noted that no other god, who does not belong to the circle of वरुण-ऋत mythology, is ever associated, in the Veda, with fetters. The mention of the bondage employed by सवितृ (X. 149. 1) should therefore in itself be sufficient proof of his identity with वरुण. Another significant feature of सवितृ-mythology is the frequent mention of अमति. The word अमति is used in a special sense with reference to सवितृ. Out of nine places where that word occurs in RV, in four places it is directly connected with सवितृ (III. 38. 8 : VII. 38. 1-2 VII. 45. 3). It occurs also in AV (VII. 14. 2). The निघण्ड explains the word अमति as 'रूप'; Geldner (Glossar) and Neisser (ZWB) understand it in the sense of "peculiar form, pattern or structure". The word रूप has retained, in later literature, the sense of a 'mystical, occult form'. A critical study of the passages, where the word अमति occurs, leads one to the conclusion that to the vedic poet, अमति indicated some mighty splendour--a magical form--something almost like the माया of मित्रावर्णो (V. 63. 4. WKZM XIII. 320.). It is very often described as a supernatural miracle. This fact brings सवितृ and वरुण quite close to each other. वरुण, like सवितृ, is said to be possessing such occult power (III. 61. 7 : V. 85. 5), by means of which he makes the sun cross the sky and obscure it with cloud and rain (V. 63. 4). So the epithet मायिन्, is principally applied to वरुण among the gods (VI. 48. 14 : VII. 28. 4 : X. 99. 10). The conceptions of अमति and माया are quite similar and belong exclusively to the वरुण-mythology. The counterparts of वरुण in other indogermanic mythologies are also invested with such magical

power. This occult power, अमति or माया, is a necessary feature of the whole ऋत्-ideology. Bergaigne has pointed out, in this connection, that the activity suggested by वृश्च is very often (X. 137. 4 : X. 99. 6-7 : AV VI. 119. 3 : VII. 53. 6) characterised by some form of mystical or magical power. The वृश्च indicates not ordinary stimulation, but it indicates stimulation, which has some form of magic underlying it—a sort of 'magical charging'. The वृश्च is sometimes used, in this sense, with reference to वरुण himself (II. 28. 9). सवितृ, whose activity is described by the employment of several forms of the वृश्च, is therefore clearly the world-magician, whose ways regarding the direction and control of the world-order are entirely inconceivable to the human mind.

It is thus abundantly clear that सवितृ is only an aspect of वरुण, a 'Hypostase' of वरुण. He represents the world-sovereign as seen from a distinct point of view and in a definite attitude. What is this peculiar aspect of वरुण, which is so much glorified by the vedic poets through the hymns addressed to सवितृ?

An analysis of the vedic hymns addressed to सवितृ brings forth very prominently one unique feature of the personality and function of that god. In the descriptions of सवितृ, the movement of his hands and fingers is particularly emphasised by the vedic poets. In the case of no other god is this feature noticeable. सवितृ raises aloft his strong golden arms, which extend to the ends of the whole world (II. 38. 2 : IV. 14.2 : IV. 53. 4 : V. 81. 2 : VI. 71. 5 : VII. 45. 2). His arms are golden (I. 35. 9-10), broad (II. 38. 2) and beautiful (III. 33. 6). By his out-stretched hands सवितृ blesses and enlivens all beings and directs all movement in the world. The raising of सवितृ's arms is so characteristic that the action of other gods is often compared with it. आग्ने raises his arms like सवितृ (I. 95. 7); dawns extend light as सवितृ extends his arms (VII. 79. 2); बृहस्पति is implored by means of hymns of praise upraised like the arms of सवितृ (I. 190. 3). सवितृ is शुपाणि, पृथुपाणि, हिरण्यपाणि, हिरण्यहस्त, स्वङ्गुरि, उबाहु etc. In ते० स० too it is said :

देवस्वा सविता उद्धपतु शुपाणि: स्वङ्गुरिः उबाहुः उत शक्त्या ।

This gesture of सवितृ by means of his huge golden hands was so deeply rooted in the mind of the vedic poet that even in later brahmanic literature the हस्त नक्षत्र was regarded as sacred to सवितृ,

on the basis of बन्धुता philosophy. Bergaigne rightly observes that the raising of arms by सवितृ does not indicate merely the spreading of the rays of the sun. This gesture, which is so often and so prominently described, with reference to सवितृ, must have some special and deeper significance. By his widely stretched out arms सवितृ gathers together the beings and then lets them free. He distributes life and motion to all beings. The great sovereign of the universe spreads out, every morning and every evening, his gigantic hands and thus sets the whole cosmic order working. This peculiar gesticulation of सवितृ is indicative on the one hand, of the commandant of the universe giving orders and, on the other hand, of the great world-magician producing his magnificent magic. The vedic poets were so thoroughly impressed by the sovereignty and the magic power of the world-sovereign वरुण, that they created this most profound imagery on the brilliant rays of the sun at the time of the sunrise and the sunset. The vedic poets believed that they could see, every morning and every evening, the otherwise invisible and imperceptible world-magician actually in action of giving orders and producing magic by means of his out-stretched majestic hands. Continually from day to day, when light and darkness change places, one sees the giant hands of the commandant of the universe stretched out to the ends of the sky in the gesticulation of a magician over-lord. On the beckoning of सवितृ, the sun is set into motion in the morning, the अभिन्‌त्स take up to their paths, men get up and start their activities. In the evening, however, when the order comes from the commandant magician—the peculiar gesticulation of his gigantic out-stretched hands being then seen in the west—the sun leaves his routine, the night draws together the threads of darkness and puts them, like a veil, over the earth, the moon comes out as the watchman of the night and the stars in the east hasten up to obey the orders of सवितृ. सवितृ is further said to be raising his voice in order to establish firmly his law—a feature which is also indicative of the same essential character of that god :

श्लोकं देवः कृषुते स्वाय धर्मणे

...
प्र आहू अन्नाक् सविता सवीमनि

...

(IV. 53.3).

It is in the same sense that सवितु is described as a priest giving order for sacrifice thrice a day (III. 54.11).

The visible occult gesture of the majestic hands of the magician sovereign-lord, सवितु, thus brings about the interchange of the grandest contrasts in nature—of day and night, of light and darkness, of activity and rest, of motion and static condition (II. 38. 1ff.). The sovereign of the world, वरुण, is by nature infinitely comprehensive. He is, however, described in his particular aspect of ‘giver of orders’ and ‘producer of magic’. That is सवितु of RV—a representation of वरुण in his special gesture of the commandant and the magician of the world, a gesture which is easily the most impressive, and at the same time the most expressive of the essential personality and nature of वरुण.

The conception of the world-sovereign, with the giant hands reaching to the ends of the sky upraised in a gesticulation of ordering and producing magic is not exclusively the creation of the vedic poet. It may be traced back to pre-vedic indogermanic mythology. Prof. Güntert has tried to prove this on the strength of the evidence derived from nordic rock-paintings. These paintings have represented a manly form with an axe in the right hand, which he raises up together with his left hand (a rock-painting from Backa near Brastad). An exactly similar figure is represented in a rock-painting from Kinnekulle. By the side of the figure, there is the ‘wheel of the sun’ and the ‘foot-print’. In this figure the right hand is so very big, when compared with the left, that one feels inclined to believe that it must be some mythological form. Both gigantic hands in an upraised position, with particularly distinctive five fingers on each of them, are to be seen in a prehistoric figure of a god represented in a painting from Brecke near Brastad. In a painting from Tanum one sees the god with both giant hands upraised, and having a spear in his right hand. The spear seems to be indicative of power and sovereignty. It is undoubtedly a representation of a god who gives orders in this attitude. Similar figures of the god ‘with majestic hands’ are also discovered in Southern Russia and Caucasus regions. On a rock-painting from Backa near Brastad in Bohuslän, the god with big hands is

represented as holding a long rope in his hands. This feature is clearly indicative of the fact that the god of huge majestic hands—पृथुपाणि सवित्रु—is identical with the god possessing long rope—i. e. वरुण with his पाणि. The वरुण-सवित्रु conception can thus be definitely traced back to prehistoric indogermanic period. We have the conception of vedic सवित्रु represented pictorially on the nordic rock-paintings belonging to ancient bronze-age. Or we must say that the सवित्रु-hymns are the literary counterparts of these prehistoric rock-paintings.

The real and the most fundamental significance of these important combinations lies in the fact that we find hereby the compact prehistoric locality of the indogermanic peoples comprising the abodes of the nordic people in the west and extending over the thrakian lands to the land of the vedic Aryans, on the strength of the evidence of their common religious heritage in the form of the god with big hands. In prehistoric times the mutually-connected indogermanic stocks, who had not lost touch with each other, lived in a locality which extended from Sweden, over Germany, Southern Russia, and the Caucasus region, upto Iran and the Punjab.

Can we find any traces of this important vedic god, सवित्रु, in Avesta? A hypothesis may be hazarded in this connection. Just as इन्द्र and नासत्य are made demons by Zarathrushtre, so too is this god turned into a demon in Avesta. The vedic सवित्रु does not only stimulate but also brings to rest all beings. This latter feature of सवित्रु was probably emphasised in Avesta, and there arose the divinity--demonic and yawning-inciter—Būsyastā, usually feminine, but once in Yt. 18.2, also masculine. Būsyastā puts people to sleep, is 'dardjōgava' i. e. longhanded, and 'zairinā' i. e. golden. The magnificent and majestic personality of the great vedic gods, सवित्रु, was thus grossly disfigured in Iran—the essential nature of that god, however, being retained in a profound manner in the personality of Ahura Mazda.

LANKAVATĀRASŪTRA ON NON-VEGETARIAN DIET.¹

BY

P. C. DIVANJI, M.A., LL.M.

The *Lankāvatārasūtra* is a work in Sanskrit on the doctrine of the Mahāyāna school of Buddhism. Like many other Buddhist works no Ms. thereof has yet been found in India. It had however been published in 1923 by Dr. Nanjo of Kyoto from a Chinese version thereof as *Vol. I of the Bibliotheca Otoenensis*. The name of the author does not appear from it and the date of its composition too cannot be ascertained with accuracy. However this much is certain that it must have been composed at a date prior to A. D. 443 because an Indian Buddhist Bhikṣu named Guṇabhadra, who had migrated to China from Central India during the regime of the Liusung dynasty, had translated it into Chinese in that year according to the Kaiyüan Records.²

2. That work appears to have been divided into nine Parivartas (Chapters) and is followed by a long Gāthā in 884 verses occupying 112 pages of that volume. According to the first Parivarta the work seems to have been originally designed to conserve in a systematized form the teaching traditionally believed to have been imparted by a later Buddha to Rāvaṇa, King of the Yakkhas, for his own benefit and that of the Rākṣasas led by Kumbhakarṇa and others, when the Lord, usually staying on the Malaya Mountain with a Sangha of Bhiksus, a group of Bodhisattvas and others, had once descended into Lankā, the capital of Rāvaṇa and had been welcomed and requested by that monarch to teach the Mahāyāna doctrine to him. The whole of the remaining portion of that Parivarta is accordingly occupied with an exposition of the Mahāyāna doctrine sub-divided into

¹ This paper was read at the 13th Session of the Indian Philosophical Congress held at Allahabad in December 1938.

² Introduction to the *Lankāvatārasūtra* p. viii.

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two parts namely (1) the Jñāna-Vibhāga and (2) the Yoga-Vibhāga, the first of which expounds a view of the phenomenal world called the Anutpādavāda and the second the species of Yoga likely to lead to a realisation of that truth.¹ In the beginning of the second Parivarta Rāvana describes the impression which that exposition had produced on his mind and begs permission to put certain questions, which are 108 in number, in order to clear up certain doubts which had arisen in his mind. The remaining portion of that Parivarta and the remaining seven Parivartas contain the answers of the Lord to those questions. These answers open out a vast vista for the investigation of several important points connected with the History of Indian Philosophy generally and particularly with the relation between the Anutpādavāda expounded therein and the Ajātivāda of Gaudapāda and with that between the system of Yoga expounded therein, that expounded in the Upanisads of the middle period (*Katha, Mundaka and others*) and that expounded by Patañjali. That work however requires an intensive study of several books and the result thereof would have to be set forth in a paper of much greater length than is usually permitted for a paper to be read before this Congress. For the present therefore I content myself with drawing the attention of those interested in the subject to the answer of the Lord to only one of the questions put by Rāvana, as I am of opinion that some of the arguments advanced therein against the eating of flesh by every one caring for his well-being even to-day are likely to appeal to our westernized brethren, that those advanced therein against the view that Gautama Buddha could have been in the habit of taking animal food after his enlightenment and could have permitted his followers to do so, although he had led a crusade against the performance of sacrifices, which involved the killing of animals, deserve to be pondered over by the students of the Buddhist religion and literature and that those of the modern Buddhist monks and laymen, especially of the Mahāyāna sect, who may be indulging in animal food, should know what an authoritative work of their sect has to say with regard to the desirability or otherwise of the taking of such food by those who care for their own

¹ *Op. Cit.*, pp. 1-22.

spiritual welfare and for the good name of their religion.¹

3. The above question is contained in a verse which may be translated thus:—

Why is meat uneatable, why is it prohibited and which of the persons born in the families of those who eat raw flesh do not eat it?²

When in the course of a serial order the turn of that question to be answered arrives³ Rāvana, who from the second Parivarta onwards is spoken of as a Bodhisattva, is made to repeat that question more explicitly in prose. The purport of what he states is that a doubt arises as to what is the right course of conduct to be preached by the Bodhisattvas when there appears to be a divergence of views as to the partaking of animal food between the teachers of Mahāyāna Śāsana, who advocate the view that the world neither exists nor does not exist and partake of such food and do not prohibit their followers from doing so, and those of the other religions, who favour the doctrine of the permanence of the world, which contradicts the former view, who themselves abstain from taking such food and prohibit their followers from doing so. The answer to that question occupies the whole of the remaining portion of that Parivarta.

4. The Lord begins by saying that for an unlimited number of reasons all kinds of flesh are uneatable according to the view of the Buddha who was mercy incarnate. He then enumerates the reasons which may be summed up as follows:—

¹ Since this paper was read my attention has been drawn to an interesting discourse on the Ahimsādharma in Chapters 114-16 of the *Anuśāsana Parva of the Mahābhārata*. Therein abstinence from flesh-eating is said to be one of the four kinds of Ahimsā and the dictum *Ahimsā paramo dharmaḥ* has been considered and an attempt has been made to reconcile it with the injunctions to offer flesh to one's manes at the Srāddha ceremony and to the gods at sacrifices. The views of Svayambhu Manu, Nārada and Bṛhaspati have been cited in support of total abstinence by one desirous of accumulating merit, that of Mārkanḍeya to support the statement that one who eats the flesh of animals killed by others is as sinful as one who kills them himself and those of several Rājarsiś such as Ambariṣa, Anaranya, Raghu, Puru, Kārtavīrya and others for recommending abstinence for stated periods and except when flesh is consecrated to the worship of the manes or gods, to those who cannot give up the habit completely.

² L. S. II. 45.

³ Op. Cit. VIII pp. 244-60.

(1) All sentient beings who are born in the world had necessarily passed through innumerable previous births. It is therefore likely that the animals whose flesh is offered for sale in the markets may have been one's dear and intimate relations such as a father or a mother, or a brother, or a sister, or a wife, or a child in one previous birth or another. Therefore one who considers all sentient beings as one's kith and kin cannot eat the flesh of any animal whatever, and when even some of the Râksasas had forsaken their carnivorous habit on being overpowered by a spirit of mercy after listening to this argument what doubt can there be as to the desirability of those wishing to accumulate merit abstaining from indulgence in such habit?

(2) Butchers bring into the markets for sale in order to get money even the flesh of such animals as donkeys, camels, horses, bullocks and others which should not be eaten. Therefore a Bodhisattva who is careful about his conduct should not eat the flesh of any animal.

(3) Even from the point of view of purity one should not do so because flesh is produced from the semen of a male and the blood of a female animal, because when burnt the flesh of animals emits the same kind of bad smell as that of human beings, because a flesh-eater's mouth emits bad smell and because his body becomes infested with several bacilli which produce diverse kinds of diseases.

(4) A flesh-eater sleeps in misery, wakes up in misery and sees dreams which are the result of sins and which make one's hair stand on their ends.

(5) Flesh-eating causes obstruction in the acquisition of learning and breeds attachment towards the transient knowledge which depends upon exterior forms and thereby obstructs the attainment of Moksha.

(6) Beings other than the human deprive a flesh-eater of lustre while he is resting or moving about alone and sometimes torment him.

(7) It is the characteristic of an Anarya to depend for one's nourishment on the flesh of other sentient beings.

(8) The Buddhist Sâsana is looked down upon by the other people. They say to its followers:—“Where is their Srâmanya, where is their Brâhmaṇa when leaving aside the several kinds

of food of the Rsis of old, the Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas become flesh-eaters like carnivorous animals and torment the smaller creatures living in the air, on the earth and in water? Their Śramaṇya is annihilated, their Brāhmaṇya no longer exists, they have no Dharma and no Vinaya because they roam about the whole earth.

(9) Since the gods avoid the eating of flesh men also should do so.

(10) Yogis who desire to form friendship with all creatures should not eat flesh because animals would fly away from one who eats flesh through an apprehension lest he would kill them just as they fly away from the carnivorous animals.¹

5. Summarising the arguments in prose the Lord says in effect :—“ How can I enjoin the eating of flesh and blood, which is not done by the Āryas and Rsis, which is fraught with too many faults and is devoid of several virtues? On the contrary, I enjoin the taking of food made out of rice, barley, wheat, Muga (pulse), Māsa (pulse) Masūra (pulse) and other grains, clarified butter, oil of sesamum, honey, molasses, sugar, fish, eggs &c., which are full of good qualities and devoid of faults, are consumed by the Āryas and were consumed by the Rsis of yore.” Further after narrating certain legendary tales tending to impress upon the pupil the view that the eating of flesh is attended with certain fearful consequences even in other births, the Lord predicts that even in his own Sāsana, people calling themselves the followers of Buddha and holding a saffron-coloured flag but having their minds obsessed by false notions and overpowered by the organ of taste will try to justify flesh-eating by resorting to arguments based on false premises, going even to the extent of saying that it is a kind of food approved of and even partaken of by the Tathāgata himself, and refutes the view by advancing the following reasons namely :—

(1) There is no Sūtra from which it can be inferred that it was one of the kinds of food approved of by the Tathāgata for

¹ I have not stated the above reasons in exactly the same words and the same order in which they occur in the text but have made some modifications therein and I have also reduced their number from 13 to 10 on putting under one head those falling under the same category though mentioned therein separately.

the Maitrīvihāri Yogis, the Yogacāras, who are Śmaśānikas and the sons and daughters of good families.

(2) It is impossible that the Tathāgatas, who had eradicated their latent desires, were omniscient, looked upon all beings as their sons and were full of compassion for them and the Āryaśrāvakas, who used to abstain from even ordinary food, could themselves have been taking animal food and have been permitting their followers to do so. "Hence I cannot ask any Śrāvakas to eat the flesh of my sons nor would I eat it myself."

6. Lastly, at the end of this interesting chapter there are 24 verses in which all the above arguments have been again summarised so far as flesh-eating is concerned and the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and Śrāvakas are further advised to avoid even the eating of onions, carrots and garlics and the drinking of spirituous liquors of diverse sorts for fear of being visited with the frightful consequences mentioned therein.

7. Reasons Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8 & 10 are, I believe, likely to appeal to even the westernized Indians who either from birth or from association may have been in the habit of indulging in flesh-eating and to induce them to make a determined effort to shake it off as early as possible.

8. The arguments that there is no Buddhist Sūtra from which an inference could be drawn that the Buddha must have been taking animal food and permitting his followers to do so and that it is impossible that he who had controlled all the senses and had out of compassion for the dumb creatures preached against killing them even for the purpose of propitiating the gods demand a re-consideration of the belief to the contrary and an investigation as to the reliability of the evidence on which it may have been based.

9. Lastly, I hope those who though professing the Buddhist religion, may be indulging in the said habit, will, on coming to know of the above view of the author of one of the most authoritative works of the Mahāyāna school, re-consider their position and try to come up to the high ideal of a true monk and a true Śrāvaka of the Buddhist Śāsana, above set forth.

MISCELLANEA
A NOTE ON QUOTATIONS
BY
Prof. H. R. KAPADIA, M.A.

Each and every animate object leads a life of one kind or other; but, therein the life of a human being deserves to be specially mentioned owing to its being associated with multifarious activities. Reproduction is one of them, and it plays an important role in the life of man. It is of two kinds: (i) physical and (ii) verbal. It is the latter—verbal reproduction that I here intend to deal with.

This reproduction is of two types according as it pertains to what is orally expressed in words or to what is taken down on a piece of paper or the like. Furthermore, this reproduction may be a representation of one's own original thoughts or words or it may be after all a representation of what has been expressed in words by another individual. When this latter variety gets incorporated in one's speech or writing, it is styled as 'quotation' or 'citation'.

Origin—

To begin with, I may say a few words about the origin of quotations. It seems that the idea of getting one's speech or writing recognized as authoritative, may have given rise to quotations. For instance, every religion somehow maintains that it is nothing else but revelation that is to say knowledge disclosed to man by an omniscient divine being or by his supernatural agent. Consequently even those schools of thought which admit a founder for their school say that their founder is simply reproducing the truth propounded by other omniscient beings of the past, and it will tally with what will be expounded by persons who will attain omniscience hereafter. From this it may be inferred that quotations have been assigned a place in the secular literature after they had become an integral part of the sacred *dharmaśāstras* or the religious literature.

Classifications—

The stand-points of examining an object differ from man to man, and these subsequently lead to various classifications. Same is the case with quotations. For instance, from the stand-point of a linguist, they may be divided into as many classes as there are languages. Similarly, one who wants to ascertain whether a quotation is metrical (versified) or non-metrical (in prose) will divide quotations accordingly. Whether quotations belong to a homogeneous school of thought or to a heterogeneous one is also a stand-point from which they may be examined and classified. There are various other stand-points which may lead us to group quotations as traced and untraced, genuine or interpolated and the like, but I need not dilate upon this point any more.

Records—

Now a word about the way in which quotations are recorded in Sanskrit and Prakrit works of olden days. One who has had an opportunity of studying their manuscripts, knows it full well that there are no signs for various punctuations except for a full point viz. *danda*, much less for quotation-marks¹. But even then, it is possible in several cases to detect a quotation in virtue of the word or words with which it is introduced or gets terminated. I may give a tentative list of these introductory and terminating words from some of the standard works of the *Jainas*. For instance, from the edition of Vācakavarya Umāsvāti's *Tattvārthādhigamasūtra* along with his own *bhāsyā* and Siddhasena Gaṇī's voluminous commentary, we get the following information :—

Introductory word or words—

आह (I, 71²), आह च (II, 71, 187, 188), उक्तं च (II, 185), उक्तं चाच्र (II, 171), एवं द्युक्तं (I, 48), तथा चागमः (I, 246), तथा चाह (II, 170),

¹ "Inverted commas and apostrophes single or double, used to mark beginning and end of quoted passage"—*The Concise Oxford Dictionary* (New edition revised by H. W. Fowler, p. 953).

In German works instead of “ ” we find „ „.

In some of the Gujarati works inverted commas (‘’) are placed in front of every line of the quotation concerned.

² Herein the Roman numeral indicates the part and the Arabic one, the page-number of my edition published in two parts in D. L. J. P. F. Series as Nos. 67 and 76 in 1926 and 1930 respectively.

तथा चोक्तम् (II, 154), तद् यथा (I, 247), यत आह (I, 53, 89, 428), यत एवमाह (I, 47), यतोऽभिहितम् (I, 42, 74), यथा (II, 71), यथाऽभिहितम् (I, 71), यथाऽह (I, 328, 354, 394) and यथोक्तम् (II, 156, 186, 226, 227).

Terminating word or words—

इति (I, 71 ; II, 169) and इति चन्नाद् (II, 155).

To the above mentioned list of introductory words may be added the following which occur in *Syādvādañjari* :—

आचक्षते ('p. 63), तथा च पठन्ति (pp. 36, 303), तथा चाहुः (pp. 24, 236), तथा च सत्यमेतद् वचः (p. 216), तदूक्तम् (pp. 160, 161), चमाण (p. 42), यदाहुः (p. 79) and यदूक्तम् (p. 279).²

At times there is nothing specific to indicate that a particular line, passage or verse is a quotation. It is only the learned readers who can so detect it owing to their vast experience and erudition. Sometimes, the commentary, if it exists helps us in this direction. I may illustrate these remarks by citing a few examples.

The 50th verse of the 11th stabaka of *Śāstravārtasamuccaya*, a work of Haribhadra Sūri well-known as Yākinīmahattarāśūnu is a reproduction *ad verbatim* of the 8th verse (p. 319) of the *kārikā*, a part and parcel of the *bhāṣya* on *Tattvārthādhigamaśūtra* (X, 7). Similar is the case with the *Kārikās* 912-914 occurring in *Tattvasaṅgraha*.³ For, really speaking, their author is Bhāmaha and not Śāntarakṣita, a fact one can infer from its commentary⁴ (p. 291) by Kamalaśīla.

Before proceeding further, it will not be amiss to raise a question as to why in olden days, some of the authors incorporated in their writings lines or couplets belonging to other authors,

1 This page refers to the edition published in Rāyacandra Jaina Sāstra-mālā (1935).

2 In Jayasena's commentary (p. 304) on *Pavayāṇasāra* (III, 12) we have “तत्रोद्घाहणगाथा ”.

3 As a parallel example may be mentioned that in *Tattvasaṅgraha*, there are certain *Kārikās* of Kumārila incorporated in the text without suggesting that they are so. *Syādvādañjari*, too, supplies us with another illustration of this type; for, therein we find reproductions *ad verbatim* from *Nyāyapraveśavṛtti*, *Pramāṇanāmāṁśū*, *Syādvādaratnākara* and *Ratnākarāvatarikā*, though there is no mention that they are so. This is what is said in its Rāyacandra Jaina Sāstra-mālā edition, p. 18.

4 This is one of the ways in which a commentary becomes useful

without the slightest mention about their names or works, and thus making a layman wrongly believe that even these lines and couplets came from the pen of one and the same author.

I shall try to answer this question so far as the *Jaina* authors—especially the saintly characters are concerned. It appears that they had no desire to write an altogether independent work—an original work in all respects, but their chief aim was to supply their pupils with an adequate treatise on the subject they wanted to study. Consequently these saintly characters went on assimilating in their works lines etc. from works of their predecessors, and allowed their works to be styled as compendiums as if they had contributed no quota of their own. In view of this selfless attempt made by them, it will be undesirable to attribute any mean motive to them.

There is another question likely to arise as to why quotations introduced by उक्तं च and the like and terminated by इति or इति वचनात् are at times given, in such a manner that there is neither mention of the name of their author nor that of the work they belong to. This may be answered as under :—

(I) Knowledge being a universal property, it may not have been thought necessary to mention the author or his work.

(II) It may not have been customary to do so in those days.

(III) Names of the required authors and works were too well-known to be specifically mentioned.

(IV) There was ignorance about the original source of the quotation or quotations concerned.

Value of quotations—

Quotations are useful in various ways, some of them being as under :—

(I) As already noted they make works authoritative and not *svakapolakalpita*.¹

(II) They help us in fixing *terminus ad quem* of certain authors. But, in doing so we must guard against quotations that may have later on crept into the original work, through an error of a scribe who may have incorporated quotations written as marginal notes in the body of the Ms.

¹ This is corroborated by the expression “न तु स्वमनीषिक्या” and the like used by the *Jaina* authors. See my *Descriptive Catalogue of Jaina MSS.* (Vol. XVII, pt. II, p. 180, fn. 1).

(III) Quotations go a great way in the restoration and preparation of critical editions. To give a concrete example, Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, M.A., Ph.D., the indefatigable 'General Editor' of the *Mahābhārata* and a great scholar of world-wide reputation had once suggested to me that I should supply him from the *Jaina* literature of olden days, quotations given from the *Mahābhārata*, as they were likely to help him in his work.¹

When a *pūrvapakṣa* is given, at times it may be the actual reproduction from the work being refuted and at times it may be its substance. In the former case, it is desirable that the editor of such a work should indicate the *pūrvapakṣa* by using inverted commas. Sometimes he may fail to ascertain whether it is an actual reproduction or not. In that case, it will be a pleasant feature if he notes his difficulty in the introduction so that it may attract the due attention of other veteran scholars, and this problem may be finally solved. Even, for quotations which an editor fails to trace, a similar method should be employed. So far as standard works of immense value are concerned, I may go even a step further and make an humble suggestion of publishing a list of untraced quotations in a reputed journal.

As this is after all a note and not an exhaustive article on quotations, I may conclude it with the following questionnaire :—

(1) Which is the first work from which lines etc. are quoted ?²

(2) Which is the first work where a quotation occurs for the first time ?³

(3) Who is the first author to have given a quotation ?⁴

(4) What are the different methods adopted for different languages in different countries for introducing quotations ?

¹ I am glad to say that I have already contributed on 28-10-35 my humble quota in this direction.

² I think, the *Rg-Veda* may be mentioned in this connection so far as the *Jaina* literature is concerned.

³ Tentatively I may refer to works such as Yāska's *Nirukta*, Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and Umāsvāti's *Tattvārthādhigamasūtra* of which *terminus a quo* is not finally settled.

NICULA AND KALIDASA

BY

Prof. D. R. MANKAD

The controversy started by Mallinātha's remarks on Meghadūta 14, has not yet been finally solved. The question involved is whether we should take a natural sense out of that stanza or see therein a historical reference to Diinnāga and Nicula—the so-called two contemporaries of Kālidāsa. So far, most of the writers on this point have favoured the latter view, finding a reference to these two poets in the verse. Recently I have come across a reference which, I think, should finally decide this problem. Mr. Kilabhai Ghanashyam who translated Meghadūta into Gujarati and published the same in 1913, has thus commented on the verse in question.

"Vallabhadeva, the oldest known commentator on Meghadūta, who flourished in the 9th century in Kashmire, says nothing about this Diinnāgācārya, the promulgator of Buddhism. Mallinātha, therefore, seems to have given the second interpretation from some story current in his days. Kālidāsa who was the contemporary of Nicula and Diinnāga was not the author of this poem, but was another Kālidāsa who flourished in the days of Bhoja. This is proved by the following. A Kālidāsa who flourished in the days of Bhoja has written a work called नानार्थशब्दरत्न and his friend Nicula has written thereon a commentary called तरला. In that commentary he describes himself as a friend of Kālidāsa and as patronised by Bhoja. A Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. of Madras Government, 1906, p. 1175 gives the following beginning and end of the work.

प्रारम्भ :— स्वमित्रकालिदासोक्तशब्दरत्नार्थजूम्भिताम् ।

तरलाख्यां लसद्वाख्यामाख्यास्ये तन्मतानुगाम् ॥

अन्त :— इति श्रीमन्महाराजशिरोमणिश्रीभोजराजप्रबोधितनिचुलकवि-

योगिच्चन्द्रेनिमितायां महाकविकालिदासकृतनानार्थशब्दरस्तन-
कोशरस्तनदीपिकायां तरलाख्यायां सर्वे तृतीयं निबन्धनम् । ”

This quotation definitely shows that a Nicula lived in the days of Bhoja and that he was a friend of Kālidāsa, who also lived at the court of Bhoja. Now it is clear that this Kālidāsa is not the author of Meghadūta as we find references to Meghadūta in works definitely earlier than Bhoja. In fact this whole question has arisen from the interpretation of the above verse as given by Mallinātha who has followed Dakṣināvartanātha. The position then is this. Amongst a host of commentaries on Meghadūta there are four by Sthiradeva, Vallabhadeva, Dakṣināvartanātha and Mallinātha. Out of these four Sthiradeva and Vallabhadeva belong to the 10th century, Dakṣināvartanātha belongs to the 13th and Mallinātha to the 14th. Bhoja belongs to the 11th century. Thus we find that the two commentators who flourished after Bhoja give the interpretation that Nicula was a friend of Kālidāsa, while the two commentators who flourished before Bhoja do not mention any such thing. The conclusion is obvious. Dakṣināvartanātha or a commentator earlier than him but later than Bhoja has confounded Kālidāsa of नानार्थशब्दरस्तन with Kālidāsa of Meghadūta, and with his fertile brain has dragged Diinnāga also into the story.

We are, therefore, now in a position to affirm that Meghadūta 14 has only one sense and that one is natural: it has no historical reference to either Nicula or Diinnāga.

¹ Nicula seems to be an epithet, the poet's name being योगिच्चन्द्र.

REVIEWS

STRUCTURE OF ASTĀDHYAYI by I. S. Pawate, M.A., LL.B., (The Shridhar Ramakrishna Bhandarkar a Prizeman in Vyākaraṇa, 1934, of the University of Bombay.) Pp. 136. Price Rs. 2.

In the present essay the author has relied throughout mainly on the *Kāśikā* and the *Nyāsa*. In the Introduction he controverts the current view about the date of *Kāśikā* viz. 7th century A. D. and postulates his own view that it "cannot have been written later than the second century of the Christian era." He further states that "Devanandin, alias Jinendrabuddhi alias Pūjyapāda was the author of the *Jainendravyākaranā* and the *Nyāsa*." He accepts the date "about 450 A. D." for Pūjyapāda given by M. M. R. Narasimhaśārya as "the correct one" and then concludes : "If the author of the *Nyāsa* lived about 450 A. D. the *Kāśikā*, which was an older work at the time of the author of the *Nyāsa*, must go back somewhere about the beginning of the Christian era." Mr. Pawate's criticism of the current date of the *Kāśikā* (as based on Itsing's reference to Jayāditya and his *Vṛttisūtra*) fails to convince us in the absence of any stronger contemporary or earlier evidence in support of his limit for this date viz. the 2nd century A. D.

Controverting the charge against Pāṇini that his grammar checked the natural growth of the Sanskrit language Mr. Pawate rightly observes :— "The Paninian system allowed full growth to the language while it was living and checked its deterioration when Sanskrit was slowly thrown into the background by Pali and other vernaculars at the rise of Buddhism." The essay then deals with the three independent components of the system of Pāṇini viz. the *Dhātupāṭha*, the *Ganapāṭha*, and the *Sūtrapāṭha* in detail (pp. 5ff). Some of his conclusions may be stated here : (1) The *Dhātupāṭha* does not seem to be the work of the author of the *Aṣṭādhyaṭyī* but that it may be the work of a predecessor of Pāṇini (p. 31). (2) The *Dhātupāṭha* has been preserved in its entire purity unlike the *Ganapāṭha*. The *Dhātus*

being primal elements of the language were not liable to change. The *Ganapāṭha*, on the contrary containing names of persons, families, tribes, countries, towns and villages was liable to fluctuations of fortune (p. 92). (3) The problems of the *Pāṇiniya* can be rationally explained if we adopt the following hypothesis : A book of *Sūtras* was handed down to Pāṇini from previous *ācāryas*. This book conformed to the *Paribhāṣās* now found in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* with the *Dhātupāṭha* and the *Ganapāṭha* as companion volumes to this book of *Sūtras*. Pāṇini found this book incomplete as a manual of Sanskrit Grammar and so he proceeded to enlarge it (p. 114). (4) The reason why Pāṇini has been able to eclipse all other names in the field of grammar consists in the fact that Pāṇini was the first grammarian to give us a comprehensive book on grammar (p. 123).

In an essay like the one under notice the treatment of the subject is bound to be sketchy but we congratulate the author on having developed an early love for studies in grammar at a time when in our Universities Grammar is not receiving that attention which it deserves as a corrective to the slipshod ways of thinking and writing in our schools and colleges.

P. K. Gode

SANSKRIT POETESSES (contribution of Women to Sanskrit Literature, Vol. II)—Select Verses with a Supplement on Prakrit Poetesses, edited with Critical Notes etc. by Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri, Ph.D. (London) and with English Introduction and Translation by Dr. Roma Chaudhuri, M. A., D. Phil. (London), 3 Federation Street, Calcutta, 1939. Pp. XCIII+196; Price:—Rs. 5 or 7s./6d.

Barring a few exceptions, Indian literature and thought, which has come down to us is predominantly ‘*manly*’ in the sense that it contains the estimates of woman by man or excludes the “better half” if it does not underrate its importance in national life altogether. This is a sorry scheme of things entire, whatever excuses may be pleaded by protagonists of Indian literature and culture. This reminds us of Macaulay’s estimate of the Scotch and the Irish wherein he observes that the Irish

are ill-governed because they bear to be ill-governed while the Scotch cannot bear to be ill-governed and hence they are well governed. It is only of recent years that Indian womanhood is showing signs of a determination not to be ill-governed by their worse halves—a factor in our national life which augurs well for its future strength and stability. It is, therefore, natural that during this period of our national revival an effort should be made by sympathetic souls to search for and record the contribution of women to literature in the past and at the same time evaluate critically their proper worth without priestly prejudice or manly egotism. The volume under notice is one such effort in the right direction. In the present volume the author and his learned partner in life and literature have tried to bring to light for the first time the poetic genius of the Sanskrit poetesses, ancient and mediaeval from unpublished sources. The volume has been divided into three parts. *Part I* contains an introduction in English giving information about the personal histories, dates, works and trends of thought of the poetesses. *Part II* records select verses of the Sanskrit and Prakrit poetesses with annotations and references. *Part III* contains English translation of the verses followed by no less than ten Appendices. Appendix IX contains full Bibliography (pp. 148-183) while Appendix X contains an exhaustive General Index.

In the suggestive Foreword Dr. L. D. Barnett the veteran Orientalist rightly observes that the figure of Sarasvati created by the Hindu mind has its parallel in the spirit of poetry embodied in woman's form viz. the Muses of Hellenic myth. This embodiment is justified by history and Greece produced its Sappho while India records many gifted poetesses as vouchéd by the present anthology of their verses. In the Dravidian literature also we have the personalities of Avvaiyār (Tamil) Āndāl of Vaisnava religion and Molla (Telugu). Indian literature thus owes a great debt to women, as observed by Dr. Barnett. Sanskrit Poetesses known only by name are 9 (pp. LV-LVIII). The Kāvyas of Sanskrit poetesses recorded in this volume are 6 while the number of Sanskrit poetesses of modern times comes to 12 (pp. LIX-LXX). *Thirty three* Sanskrit poetesses of antiquity have their verses edited in this volume. The anthology of nine Prakrit poetesses is given in

the supplement (pp. 61-70). On p. III of the Introduction we are told that " the *Subhāṣita-hārāvali* composed not later than the 17th century A. D. contains a stanza from the pen of an unknown poetess." Apparently Mrs. Chaudhuri has not read my paper on Hari Kavi, the court poet of the Maratha king Sambhaji, son of Shivaji the great published in the *Annals* of the Bhandarkar Institute in 1935 (Vol. XVI pp. 262-291). Hari Kavi is the author of this anthology and he wrote his *Sambhurājacarita* or a poetical life of his royal patron in A. D. 1685. On p. IX of the Introduction the lower limit of the date of *Gaurī* poetess is mentioned as 17th century A. D. This appears to be correct but we can also fix the higher limit for *Gaurī*'s date which should be A. D. 1400 or so as we find references in her verses (Nos. 19 and 20 on p. 9) to *golikā* (canon-ball) and *vahni-cūrra* (gun-powder) (Vile my paper on *Guns and Gunpowder in India from A. D. 1400 onwards* published in the *Sir Denison Ross Commemoration Volume*).

We congratulate Dr. Chaudhuri and his eminent partner in life Dr. Mrs. Chaudhuri on the production of this scholarly volume edited in a scientific manner which should attract not only lay readers but also Sanskritists to the enchanting field of their study.

P. K. Gode

BULLETIN OF THE DECCAN COLLEGE RESEARCH
INSTITUTE, Poona, vol. 1, nos. 1-4, 1939-40.

There could not possibly be any two opinions with regard to the wise decision taken by the Congress Government in starting the Research Institute at the Deccan College and thus reviving the great Educational Institution of Poona. We have before us the first volume, part no. 1 and parts nos. 2-4 bound together, of the Bulletin of that Research Institute, and looking to the respectable volume of over 440 pages packed with informative articles from the hands of specialist Professors or Readers as well as their young collaborators--the stipendiary Research Students--we have no hesitation in declaring that this volume augurs well to the Institute.

There are interesting articles on different branches of Indology--Vedic studies, Archaeology, Linguistics--as well as on Islamic Studies and Sociology. Lengthy and authoritative articles incorporating the data accumulated by the patient research work of several years have appeared in this volume and they reflect credit on their authors.

Prof. V. M. Apte (who seems to have specialised in the studies of the Grhya Sūtras) in his article on 'Rgveda Mantras in their Ritual Setting in the Grhya Sūtras' takes a detailed review of the Rgvedic hymns quoted in the Grhya Sūtras and comes to the conclusion, as against Dr. Winternitz and Mr. Edwin, W. Fay, that there is a regular and methodical application of these Mantras in the ritual ceremonies mentioned in the Grhya Sūtras where these hymns are quoted.

Prof. Sankalia's article on the 'XVIIIth Century Gold-gilt Copper-Board Inscriptions and sculptures from Nepal' gives the readings of the inscriptions and describes the sculptures on copper-boards of a manuscript from Nepal. His articles on the Ambernath Temple, Jain Yakṣa and Yakṣinīs reveal his deep study of Indian architecture and iconography. His 'Megalithic monument near Poona' (which by the bye formed the subject of an Extension Lecture delivered a few weeks ago at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute) reveal the nature of the field-work carried on by him and his students.

Mr. C. H. Shaikh's article on 'Some personalities from Bagh-dad' will be found interesting by students of Islamic Studies.

Articles and Notes on Dravidian Philology by Mr. C. R. Shankaran and those on Indo-Aryan by Prof. S. M. Katre deserve careful perusal from those who are interested in the field of Linguistics-a branch of studies which has not received adequate attention from scholars on this side of India. About 90 pages of this volume are covered by Prof. Katre's article on 'The roots of the Pāli Dhātupāṭhas' where the writer has given a consolidated list of about 1800 Pāli Dhātus (together with their interpretations) found in Dhātupāṭha, Dhātumañjūṣā and Saddanīti. We, however, do not find any reference by Dr. Katre, to previous attempts at such lists. The alphabetical list of all the roots in the Saddanīti has already been prefixed to (the Sinhalese edition of the Mahāsaddanīti printed as early as 1909. There is another attempt, still older, in another Sinhalese work called Dhātvatthādipani, which gives an alphabetical list of about as many as 1660 roots in Pāli together with their interpretation in Pāli as well as in English. This work was compiled by Hingulawala Jinaratna Sthavira of Jayavardhana Kotte Vihāra and printed in 1895 by M. J. Rodrigo at the Lakrивikirana Press, Colombo.

Dr. Iravati Karve gives a collection of some folk-songs in Mahārāṣṭra and in another lengthy article gives the full data on 'Kinship terminology and Kinship usages of the Marāṭhā Country.' She has collected words used in different parts of Mahārāṣṭra for indicating kinship with different degrees of remoteness and occasionally one comes to know very interesting usages such as KĀKĀ for father's sister (p. 347), or for mother's sister's husband. Is the usage of the word 'Tirthasvarūpa' for father given by the writer on p. 338 justified by any authority or is it a mere slip for 'Tirtharūpa' which as we know is an honorific term for father? We are however, disappointed in not finding any explanation about the origin of the usage of certain words or in not finding any conclusions or inferences about certain sociological facts or customs from the long list of words and their discussion over sixty pages. Does she intend to give the same in a continuation of her article in the next issue?

The articles on 'The Geographical Factor in the History of Mahārāṣṭra' 'Native Supporters of the British Dominion in India' by Prof. T. S. Shejwalkar are worth reading. The latter article reveals how some of the Princely merchants of the Jain community were completely unmindful and oblivious of obligations as patriotic citizens, when they went to the length of directly helping the foreigners by advancing to them large sums of money.

We most heartily welcome the advent of this Bulletin and recommend the same to our readers and research-workers in particular.

P. V. Bapat



ANNALS OF THE SRI VENKATESWARA ORIENTAL
INSTITUTE, TIRUPATI, Vol. I, Part I (March 1940).
Editor : Professor K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar.

The Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute at Tirupati played recently (March 1940) the generous and kind host to the Tenth Session of the All India Oriental Conference held at Tirupati where the delegates were provided with 'literary fare' as well, in the shape of their Annals, of which the first issue is before us for review. It is a promising performance worthy of the high aims set before themselves by the organizers of the Institute.

In his contribution entitled 'Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā,' M. M. Gan-ganath Jha makes a powerful plea for the restoration to its original and proper status, of the Pūrva Mīmāṃsā Śāstra, the true function of which is to find out the actual teaching of the scriptural texts—which are the sole means of knowing our Duty—by evolving a few *principles of interpretation* and which is wrongly supposed to deal with 'Karma-kāṇḍa or more specially with sacrificial performance.'

In his article : 'The Rāmānujīya text of the Bhagavad-Gītā,' Dr. Belvalkar points out that the view generally held that 'the Gīta is textually a clearly defined unit and its numerous manuscripts show practically no real variants' is belied by an actual examination of a number of Kashmir, Nepal, Bengali, Granthi, Devanāgarī and other MSS. In confirmation of this, is added a comparison of the Gītā-pāṭha of Śaṅkarācārya with that followed by Rāmānujācārya.

In the 'Gleanings from the Matsya-Purāṇa on war and peace,' K. A. Nilakanta Sastri draws attention to 'some striking analogies in thought and policy between the Puranic Tales and the history of our own times' by giving relevant extracts and commenting on them in a searching and suggestive manner.

In the 5th article, Mr. P. K. Gode describes a new Ms. of the Dharamaśūstra work *Viśvādarsa* and its commentary called the Vivarana by Kavikāntasarasvatī and decides with the scholarly precision that characterizes all his chronological notes, the date of the author (between 1200 and 1230 A. D.), on the strength of new evidence discovered by him.

Dr. V. Raghavan in his article on 'The Bhallata Śataka' which in his opinion is the earliest collection of *Anyāpadēśa*

verses, shows that the poet had 'that deep and poignant experience from which alone can come an 'Anyāpadeśa with life and point.' A textual criticism of the work and a discussion of the usual problems regarding an author-his name, other works etc.—conclude the article.

In a lengthy (31 pages) and very thought-provoking article entitled 'A study of dreams in the philosophy of Śrī Rāmānuja,' Dr. K. C. Varadchari discusses the several views regarding the special characteristics of dream-life, reviewing in this connection ancient Sanskrit literature from the Rgveda to the Upanisads. He then presents 'Indian Dream psychology according to Śrī Rāmanuja' and concludes on the interesting note (p. 87): 'The more the dreamer becomes moral, receptive and capable of self-control, the more true would his dreams become, that is, they more and more conform to the prophetic type of communion with Divine.'

M. Ramakrishna Kavi next gives a detailed and accurate description of a 'Copper-Plate inscription of Tallapāka Tiruveṇgalanātha issued from Tirucānūr' reproducing the contents of the original. An exhaustive commentary thereon discussing among others such interesting questions as the literary output and date *Annamā* and his descendants adds to the value of the description.

The concluding article of Part I : "Grantha-grandhulu" by Veturi Prabhākar Sāstri, is an interesting one, wherein the author discusses the use of various Telugu words for 'book' and 'writing materials' with their etymological connections.

Part II consists of an extensive memorandum (60 pages) written by the Editor, Rao Bahadur Rangaswami Aiyangar explaining the whole scheme for an Oriental Institute at Tirupati. The Sri Venkateshwara Oriental Institute at Tirupati which was sanctioned by the Tirumalai-Tirupati Devasthanam Committee in April 1938 is the result of the discussion of this memorandum.

Part III is made up by an extract (going up to the 16th Slokas of the 2nd Adhyāya), from the Atri-Samhitā of the Vai-khānasa Āgama, explaining the ritual of worship according to this special school—a ritual, by the bye, followed at the temples at Tirupati. This is very appropriate as the ritual literature of this Āgama is now unknown except to a few priests whose hereditary occupation is to practise it.

V. M. Apte

Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute

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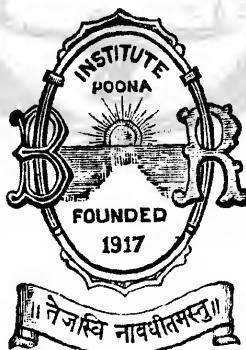
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